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SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEW NETHERLAND HERALDIC WINDOW

One of seven windows recovered from a now-demolished house in Eighth Street, New York City, of which three came to this Society by gift of Mrs. Howard Chandler Robbins, 1951. The other four, including the above-illustrated and three depicting Dutch proverbs, are now built into a country home at Sneden's Landing on the Hudson.

Courtesy of the owner, Dr. Cushman Haagensen

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VOLUME XXXVI NUMBER TWO

New York: 170 Central Park West

"STORIED WINDOWS RICHLY DIGHT"

by R. W. G. Vail

In 1638 a young Dutchman named Evert Duyckinck (1621–1702)[1] came to the New World to seek his fortune in the colony of New Netherland which had been founded by the West India Company to further the trade in peltries but which by the latter half of the 17th century was taking to itself some of the ornaments of civilization such as crow-stepped gable ends of gaily colored brick, tiled fireplaces, steep-roofed churches, convivial taverns, a *stadt huys*, a fort, stocks and a gallows. Though he had worked at first for the Company, Evert had set up for himself by the sixteen forties, owned some land in New Amsterdam and was by way of becoming a well-to-do and important citizen. Having discovered a good *huysvrou* named Hendrickje Simons, he proceeded to raise a family of ten children and to found America's first artistic dynasty which consisted of himself,

[1] John Hill Morgan, *Early American Painters* (New York: 1921), 17–20; I.N.P. Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island* (New York: 1916), II: 299.

one son, two grandsons and a great-grandson, all painters who by forgetting to sign their names to their canvases left us with the puzzling problem of who did what.[2]

Evert the First is variously described in contemporary records as a limner, a painter, a glazier, a burner of glass, a stainer of glass, a painter of glass, a master glazier in 1648 and a glass maker ten years later. His fourth child, Evert II (1650–1680), was a sea captain but *he* had a son, Evert III (*c.* 1677–1727), who stayed on land and learned in his grandfather's workshop to be a limner, and at least nine portraits have been attributed to him. The youngest child of Evert I was named Gerrit (1660–1710) and he too was a painter, glazier and glass maker, working in partnership with his father. His own portrait and those of his wife and Mrs. Augustus Jay, in our collection, have been attributed to him.[3] The seventh of Gerrit's eleven children was called Gerardus (1695–*c.*1756) who named *his* son Gerardus II (1723–1797) and both of them were limners while the latter advertised in the local papers that he was also a teacher of drawing and painting on glass and that he had a stock of glass paintings on sale in his shop on the Dock, between the Old Slip and Coentie's Market, to prove his ability as an artist. His father had been here, at the Sign of the Two Cupids, as early as 1735 and Gerardus II continued at the old stand all of his active life, at the Sign of the Looking Glass.[4]

It is with the skill of Evert I and his son Gerrit as painters and burners of glass that we are here concerned since we have recently received three 17th-century heraldic Dutch windows as the generous gift of Mrs. Howard C. Robbins who rescued them many years ago, together with four others, from a house wrecker who had saved them from an old house then recently demolished on Eighth Street. The extreme rarity of these 17th-century Dutch windows, with coats of arms burned into their

[2] W. C. Duyckinck and John Cornell, *The Duyckinck and Allied Families* (1908), 1, 89, 179.

[3] Morgan, *op. cit.*, 28–30.

[4] Rita S. Gottesman, *Arts and Crafts in New York, 1726–1776* (New York: 1938); *NYHS Collections for 1896*, 94.

GERRIT DUYCKINCK (1660–*c.* 1710)

Limner; painter and burner of glass
Self-portrait, New York, *c.* 1695

Bequest of George Abeel, 1918

EVERT JANSEN WENDELL'S ARMS

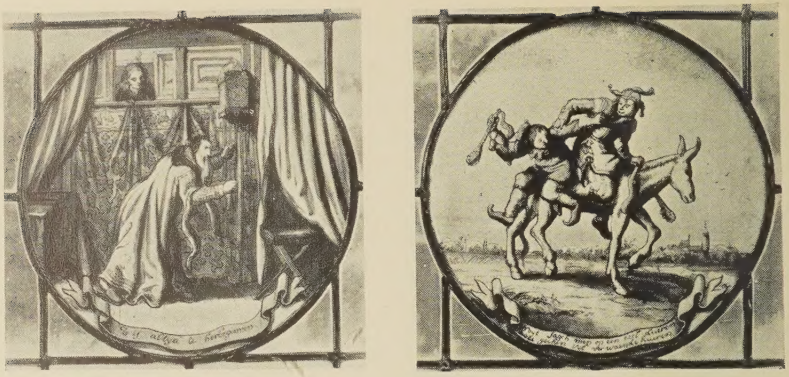
From window installed 1656
In the Dutch Church at Albany

(Rogers' *Historical Discourse*, 1858)

oval centers, and the possibility that they may have been made here in New York by Evert and Gerrit Duyckinck make them particularly exciting to the beholder if, perchance, he has a sparkle of historical and artistic imagination. It is, in fact, not at all improbable that these windows were made by the Duyckincks for use in one of the early churches of New Amsterdam or more likely for the home of one of the town's wealthy burghers and that they were later transferred to the Eighth Street house on the demolition of the original edifice.

No Dutch official, merchant or professional man of the 17th century was content until he had annexed a coat of arms and it never seemed to worry him in the least whether or not he had a right to use the arms he had assumed[5] for, in those simple days, Dutch heraldry, genealogy and patronymics were in a state of such happy confusion that Claus Martense van Roosevelt's son might call himself Martin Clausen while *his* son might become Nicholas Martense or Martin, thus driving genealogists mad and

[5] William J. Hoffman, "Dutch Armory," in N.Y.G. & B. *Record*, serially in 1930's.



SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEW YORK DUTCH PROVERB WINDOWS

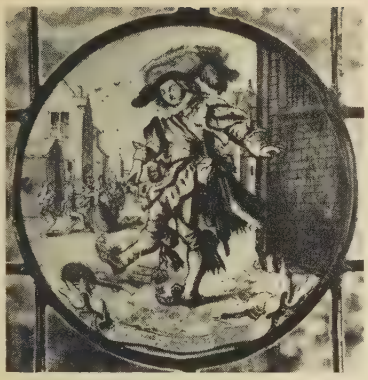
Left: "One can always begin again." *Right:* "Two fools with their silly pranks never sat long on the same donkey."

Owned by Dr. Cushman Haagensen at Sneden's Landing on the Hudson

making it quite unnecessary to be too fussy about the origins or correctness of one's coat of arms. If your worthy burgher was a liberal supporter of his local church, he or his descendants might have his arms painted on a hatchment or wooden panel for display in the church, as was the case with Jan Harberdinck or Harperding, whose hatchment once hung among others in the old Dutch Reformed Church in New York and is still preserved as the sole example of this pleasant custom to have survived in America to our day.[9] Or if the community boasted a painter of heraldic windows, your pious but proud Dutch citizen might have one of them put up in his church as a reminder of his benevolences, perhaps giving the date of his birth or of his contributing to the erection of the new edifice of his faith. Or perhaps his name and arms might be linked with those of his wife, together with the date of their marriage. In his home, if he could afford it, our Dutchman might have several "storied windows" recording the arms and pedigrees of his various ancestors.

The prevailing style in Dutch windows was admirably suited

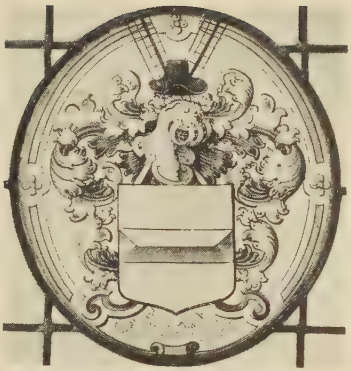
[9] Thomas De Witt, *Collegiate Dutch Reformed Church of New York* (New York: 1857), 27, 34, 98.



PROVERB WINDOW, 17TH CENTURY

"One must wear out a pair of jester's shoes to become truly wise."

Owned by Dr. Cushman Haagensen



HERALDIC WINDOW, 17TH CENTURY

Of Jan Niclaesz van Perbon, miller, who married Aeltgen Sybouts, 1614

Gift of Mrs. Howard C. Robbins, 1951

to the display of the family's heraldry for there was generally, in the best houses, a series of rectangular leaded sashes each made up of twelve, twenty-four, or thirty-six smaller rectangular panes, with a series of double casement windows below. The plain glass panes sent over from Holland for use in New Netherland were generally twelve by eight inches in size[7] though frequently smaller. The Directors of the Company notified Peter Stuyvesant in 1657 that they were sending out a consignment of leaden window frames[8] but we know that the Duyckincks did not depend entirely on importations for they made their own windows as well.[9] Our three windows are made up of six rows of six panes each, filling frames measuring 27 by 24 inches with an oval heraldic device and inscription in the center of each window, the wooden frame of which was braced by ornamental L-shaped metal corners. These coats of arms might appear on a single large pane of glass as in the Schuyler and Wendell arms mentioned later; they might be spread over as many as a dozen panes as in the

[7] Stokes, IV: 951; Esther Singleton, *Dutch New York* (New York: 1909), 42.
[8] Singleton, *op. cit.*, 42.
[9] Stokes, II: 299.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEW YORK HERALDIC WINDOWS

Left: "Joris Claesz van der Laen / [born] Anno 1630." *Right:* Cornelius, son of Walter Hogenboom, who married Mechtelt, daughter of Cornelius de Wit, 1643.

Gift of Mrs. Howard Chandler Robbins, 1951

Van Rensselaer, Jacobsen, and Herbersen arms; or they might be ovals set in the centers of windows made up of 36 small panes as in the three windows in our collection.

There was originally some fine paneling and more than seven Dutch windows in the Eighth Street house, four of which were built into the country home now owned by Dr. Cushman Haagensen at Sneden's Landing, three of them in sepia depicting proverbs and one showing a heraldic device without date or inscription. The three windows given us by Mrs. Robbins have the following inscriptions beneath their respective coats of arms:

Joris Claesz van der Laen/Anno 1630 (George, the son of Nicholas Vanderlaen [born in] the year 1630).

Cornelis woutersz hogenboom/eñ mechtelt Cornelis de wit sijn/Huijsfrou 1643. (Cornelius, the son of Walter Hogenboom and Mechtelt [the daughter of] Cornelius de Wit, his wife, [were married in] 1643). There was a pioneer Hogenboom or Hogeboom family in Albany County.

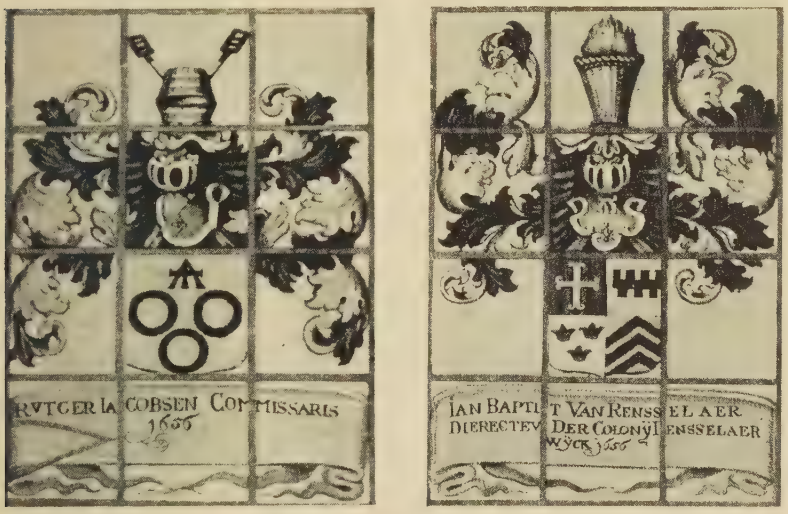
Bij mij Jan Ni-/claez van Perbon mole-/naer met Aeltgen Syboustdr

Sijn huijsvrou tot Leijderdorp, 1614. (Done by me, John, the son of Nicholas of Perbon, miller, [who was married] with Aeltgen [Alida] Sybouts [Sybolt's or Sibolt's] daughter, his wife, at Leiderdorp, 1614).

Mr. William J. Hoffman[10] thinks it possible that this couple might have been the parents of Claes Janszen Heyning [van Heiningen], formerly of Leiderdorp, who came to New Netherland in 1662 and was also recorded as Claes Jansz van Leyden [Leiderdorp being near Leyden] who married Geesje Fockens of Ruynen Drente in 1667 and (second) Jannetje Kiers in 1672. Poor Jan the miller seems to have lacked a proper crest so he used his old hat and the wings of his windmill which seem to have done just as well. The 18th-century Vanderlyns, Hogebooms and De Witts of Albany County might well have been the descendants of the old Dutchmen of our armorial windows.

When the second building of the Reformed Protestant Dutch

[10] Letter to the author, February 19, 1952.



HERALDIC WINDOWS FROM THE ALBANY DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH 1656

Left: Rutger Jacobsen, Commissioner. *Right:* Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer, Director of Rensselaerswyck. Both later returned to descendants of the donor. *The latter now owned by The Metropolitan Museum of Art.*

(Rogers, *Historical Discourse on the Reformed Prot. Dutch Church of Albany*, 1858)

Church of Albany was erected in 1656, its windows were decorated with the armorial bearings of the wealthier parishioners, and when a new church was built in 1715 the "storied windows" were transferred to the new edifice where they remained until its demolition in 1806.[11] Very few of these old windows escaped destruction[12] but some were saved and returned to the families who had given them, including the following for which we give the original inscriptions:[13]

Rutger Jacobsen Commissaris [Commissioner] *1656*

Ian Baptist Van Rensselaer Directeur der Colonÿ [Director of the Colony of] *Rensselaerwÿck 1656*

Evert Jansen Wendell Regerenden Dijaken [Ruling Deacon] *1656*

Filÿp Pietersen Schuÿler Commissaris [Commissioner] *1656*

Andries Herbersen Commissaris [Commissioner] *1657*

The dates obviously record the years in which the leading members contributed to the building of the new church. Several of these old windows are still owned by the descendants of the original Dutch families or by the Albany Institute, though the Schuyler window was accidentally destroyed in 1879[14] but not before it was copied and described as follows: "The shield was green, the straight stretched arm was in a sleeve of gold, and the closed hand in a golden glove. The falcoln was in its natural color but the hood on its head was gold."[15] The arms of Volckert Jansz Douw, first of that name in America, were also said to have been in the Albany church of 1656.[16]

Though there were other glaziers in New Netherland, it is more than likely that the heraldic windows in the second Albany church as well as in the churches at Esopus (Kingston), the

[11] F. P. Rogers, *Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of Albany* (Albany: 1858), 21, 25, etc.; Joel Munsell, *Collections on the History of Albany*, Vol. 1 (Albany: 1865), 27, 113; Vol. 2 (1867), 26, 113, 384.

[12] Joel Munsell, *Annals of Albany* (Albany: 1850), I: 90.

[13] Rogers, *op. cit.*, 21, 25; Munsell, *Collections*, I: 27; II: 113.

[14] George W. Schuyler, *Colonial New York* (1885), I: 111.

[15] N.Y. G. & B. *Record*, April 1934, 101.

[16] Baxter, *Godchild of Washington.*

HERALDIC WINDOWS FROM THE ALBANY DUTCH CHURCH, 1656 AND 1657

Left: Andries Herbersen, Commissioner. *Right:* Philip (son of Peter) Schuyler, Commissioner. Both later returned to descendants of the donors.

(Munsell's *Collections on the History of Albany*, I (1865), 27; II (1867), 113)

Church of St. Nicholas in the Fort and later the Garden Street Church (Old South) at New Amsterdam were all made by Evert Duyckinck and his son Gerrit. There were several other early churches in the Dutch towns of the colony but they were mostly small and poor and we fail to find any record of their having the luxury of heraldic windows. Nor do we find specific reference to their installing such windows in the private homes of the wealthy but, though there were other ordinary glaziers in the colony, there is no record of any other *burners of glass*, *stainers of glass*, *painters of glass* or makers of heraldic windows in New Netherland. So it is altogether possible that the Duyckincks were the artists who produced our three windows which may have been transferred from an earlier church or home to the Eighth Street house from which they were eventually rescued.

There is evidence that Evert and Gerrit Duyckinck were busy making heraldic windows at least part of the time from the six-

teen forties until the end of the century. Stokes[17] says that they both understood the art of painting glass which required the use of a kiln for firing, and that when Evert is referred to as a *glass maker* in 1658, that description should be taken literally. He was spoken of in 1648 as a Master Glazier when Cornelius Jansen was apprenticed to him.[18] In the same year the Director of Rensselaerswyck paid him for repairing old and setting new window panes and on his bill Duyckinck added a note offering to burn coats of arms or marks [designs] in glass so it is thought that he was the one who made the armorial windows for the Albany church of 1656.[19]

In 1656, the Church of St. Nicholas in the Fort at New Amsterdam, being out of repair, "Evert Duyckingh, the New Amsterdam glazier, put in the church glass panes, bearing painted coats of arms, for each of the members of the city court," according to Stokes.[20] The City Court in this year consisted of the following: Cornelis van Tienhoven, Allard Anthony, Oloff Stevensen, Jacob Strycker, Jan Vinje, Johannes Van Brugge, Willem Beeckman and Hendricks Kip.[21] That he had difficulty in collecting this bill is evident from the following extract from the official records of October 9, 1656; "Evert Duycking requests by petition to be informed from whom he is to receive payment for the glass which he put in the church for Schout, Burgomasters and Schepens, demanding 2 1/2 beavers for each. The Court decided the petitioner shall go to each one for whom the glass was [made] for his payment either in trade, or as he can agree for the same."[22]

At an early date Evert Duyckinck had been employed by the town to paint the arms of New Amsterdam on the leather fire

[17] Stokes, II: 299.

[18] *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts, Dutch*, 44.

[19] G. Beernink, *De Geschiedschrijver en Rechtsgeleerde Dr. Arend van Slichtenhorst* (Arnhem: 1916), 167, 207 note, quoted in Stokes, IV: 956.

[20] Stokes, I: 58.

[21] *Records of New Amsterdam*, ed. by Berthold Fernow, Vol. 2 (New York: 1897), 1.

[22] Singleton, *op. cit.*, 43.

buckets of the municipality and "in 1659 he engraved the city arms on a window pane in the Council Chamber of the Stadt Huys where for forty years it was pointed to with pride."[23]

Danckaerts,[24] in his journal for 1680, records that "They had built a new church in the Hysopus [Esopus or Kingston], of which the glass had been made and painted in the city, by the father of our mate, Evert Duiken, whose other son, Gerrit, did most of the work. This Gerrit Duiken had to take the glass to the Hysopus. . . . He promised to teach me to draw. . . . [Later entry dated May 4, 1680:] We went ashore [at Esopus]. . . . We found Gerrit, the glass-maker there. . . . He was engaged putting the glass in their new church."

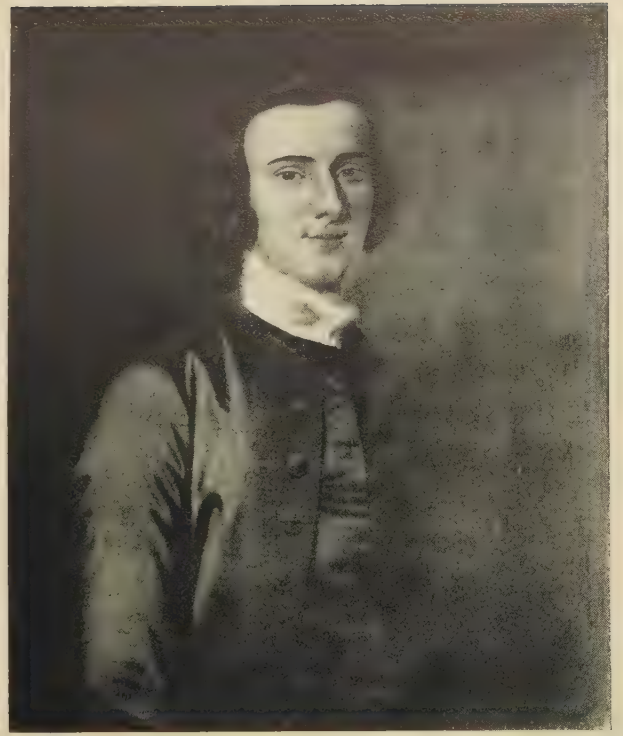
In 1693 the Church of St. Nicholas in the Fort at New Amsterdam, which had been built in 1642, was abandoned by the Dutch congregation on the erection of the new Garden Street or Old South church which was dedicated that year. According to De Witt,[25] "The windows of the church were small panes of glass set in lead. The most of them had coats of arms of those who had been elders and magistrates, curiously burnt on glass by Gerard [*i.e.*, Gerrit] Duyckinck." He also says that the pulpit, bell and "several escutcheons" were removed from the Church in the Fort and placed in the new edifice which was abandoned in 1807 on the erection of a new church on the same site. It is probable that the heraldic windows were again moved to this new church along with the old bell from the church in the Fort. If so, they were destroyed when the church burned in 1835. Morgan[26] says that as late as 1700 the records refer to his glass making. Two years later Evert Duyckinck died and his son Gerrit followed him some eight years thereafter. Apparently they were the last of this gifted family with training and talent for the making of stained glass windows.

[23] Morgan, *op. cit.*, 17.

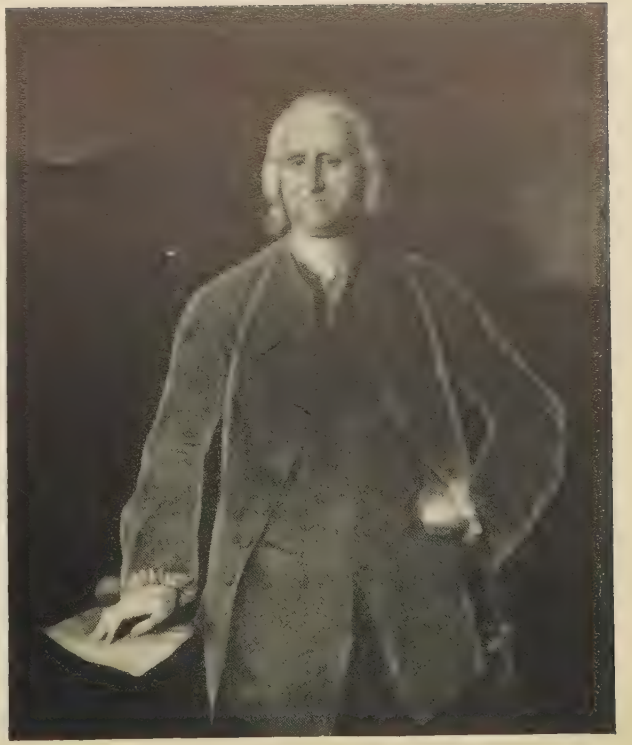
[24] Jasper Danckaerts, *Journal of a Voyage to New York . . . in 1679–80, by Jaspar Dankers and Peter Sluyter* (Brooklyn: 1867), 276, 324.

[25] DeWitt, *op. cit.*, 27, 34, 98.

[26] Morgan, *op. cit.*, 18; Stokes, II: 299.



WILLIAM SMITH, JR. (1728–1793)
By John Wollaston, New York, 1751
Owned by Miss Edith Wetmore, New York City



CADWALLADER COLDEN (1688–1776)
By Matthew Pratt, New York, 1772 (detail)
Owned by Chamber of Commerce of State of New York

"HE IS GONE AND PEACE TO HIS SHADE"

WILLIAM SMITH, HISTORIAN, POSTHUMOUSLY BOILS LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR CADWALLADER COLDEN IN OIL

by PAUL M. HAMLIN*

CADWALLADER COLDEN, M.D. (1688–1776), has long been recognized as one of the outstanding personages of 18th-century America. The son of the Reverend Alexander Colden, minister of Duns, Berwickshire, Scotland, he was born on February 7, 1688, in Ireland while his mother was visiting there. After graduating from Edinburgh University in 1705, young Colden studied physic in London and five years later emigrated to the New World, making his headquarters in Philadelphia at the home of an aunt, widowed sister of his mother. There he undertook the practice of medicine and on the side, but for a brief period only, engaged in merchandizing and trade. His business ventures took him upon occasion as far south as Charlestown, South Carolina. Recrossing the Atlantic in 1715, he married Alice Christie, daughter of the clergyman, David Christie of Kelso, Scotland. The same autumn he returned with his bride to Philadelphia, where he again entered upon professional duties.

While paying a visit to New York Colden attracted the attention of Governor Robert Hunter, who promised to appoint him Surveyor General of the Province should he move to that colony. Accordingly, in the fall of 1718, Colden with his wife and growing family settled in New York, where he continued to reside for the remainder of his long life. In 1720 Governor Hunter's promise was fulfilled and in the same year Colden was named a Master of the High Court of Chancery of the Province of New

* Dr. Hamlin is Professor of Law, New York Law School; Associate Professor of Government, Newark Colleges, Rutgers University; author of *Legal Education in Colonial New York* (1939); and co-author with Charles E. Baker of the *Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province of New York 1691–1704*, 3 vols. (The Society, 1952).

York—a lucrative post in the 1720's and 30's. In 1721 Governor William Burnet brought Colden into the Provincial Council, membership in which he held for fifty-five years. In other ways, too, he served the Colony—the most distinctive of which was that of being her Lieutenant Governor, 1761–1776. As such, he served five times as acting Governor.[1] It is probably correct to say that few men of his day devoted as much time and thought to the government of the Colony in which he had chosen to live as did Cadwallader Colden.

And, yet, Colden's reputation rests not in government, but in research and writing in such varied fields as history, applied mathematics, botany, medicine, and philosophy. Men of renown in both Europe and America were his friends and correspondents. The range of his inquiries and attainments displays a remarkable versatility of mind. Nevertheless, in spite of the circumstance that the scope of his interests was catholic, and his endeavor considerable, he never achieved that rank to which his position and talents would seem to have qualified him.

From the time of his first public employment until his death, his policies and actions were subjected to persistent criticism largely derogatory in nature; and have called for considerable adverse comment since. In the writings of his apologists there is a

[1] Edwin R. Purple, *Genealogical Notes of the Colden Family in America* (New York: Privately Printed, 1873), p. 3 *et seq.* On April 9, 1719, a patent to 2,000 acres of land in Ulster County was issued to Colden. In 1727 he founded *Coldengham* in the Town of Montgomery, Orange County, New York, on an estate of 1,000 acres which adjoined the earlier grant. His *Ms. Farm Journal* commences August 15, 1727.

Colden's wife Alice, born January 5, 1690, died in the Government House, City of New York, in March 1762. A few months later the Lieutenant Governor purchased for £2,000 a farm of 120 acres at Flushing, Long Island, on which he built a mansion, calling it *Spring Hill*. There he died on September 20, 1776, aged 88 years and seven months. Burial was in a cemetery located on the farm. His will, dated May 20, 1775, and republished August 7, 1776, was admitted to probate March 17, 1779.

A full-length portrait of Cadwallader Colden painted in 1772 may be seen at the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, New York City. In stature Colden was small and high-shouldered, and of a dignified aspect, "with a strong conformation of body, and a vigorous constitution." He was devoted to his family, skimping and saving in order that they might have leisure for scholarly pursuits. His daughter Jane gained wide recognition as a botanist. A grandson, Cadwallader David Colden (1769–1834), was a prominent American during the first three decades of the 19th century.

hint that he was an opportunist, and a person somewhat lacking in principle. His character, it may have been, was not equal to the demands made upon it.[2] In the Preface to *The Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden* it is written:[3]

> One cannot read the correspondence of Cadwallader Colden and peruse his philosophical and scientific papers without realizing what a genius he was and wondering why he did not achieve greatness in the country he had served so faithfully during a long life. He is most familiarly known as the Tory Lieutenant Governor of New York at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War while his wonderful range of knowledge has been quite lost sight of.

Assuredly this failure to be more adequately honored during his lifetime for his endeavors was not because he neglected to express himself forcibly or to assert himself on questions of the day. On the contrary, it was because he had so expressed and asserted himself that personal and political opponents were his in generous number. As his letters and writings show, he did not hesitate to use the sharpest of barbs against anyone who opposed his views and plans.

Among his adversaries was the lawyer William Smith, Jr., eldest son of Judge William Smith, and author of *A History of New York*, which was published in 1757. Smith and Colden crossed swords over a period of twenty-five years, the feud ending only upon the death of the latter. The outlines of a few of the more outstandingly contentious disagreements in which these two personages were involved may be of value as background material for Smith's posthumous appraisal of Colden that is given below.

The incident associated with the 1752 Revision of the Laws of New York that Smith recounts in his estimate is one of these. Smith and Livingston, who compiled that Revision, had inserted "a Note that the Original" of an Act necessary to the validity of certain secondary patents, including one to Colden, within the

[2] See the *Dictionary of American Biography* and articles there cited. Also, *Additional Letters and Papers [of Colden] 1715–1748*, and, *Additional Letters and Papers 1749–1775, and Some of Colden's Writings*, in *The New-York Historical Society Collections* (hereafter, *NYHS Coll.*) *for 1934* and *1935*.

[3] *NYHS Coll. for 1917*, p. 1.

so-called Extravagant Grants, "could not be found," and Colden, by threats and cajolery, had tried to induce the compilers to print the law without the damaging note. Undoubtedly the circumstances surrounding Colden's conduct on that occasion rankled in Smith's mind, for he mentioned it a quarter of a century later. Then, too, Colden's resentment at Smith's refusal to comply with his wish that the note be deleted may have colored Colden's reaction to Smith's *History*, published five years after the affront, which then became another subject of hot personal controversy between them.

Colden accused Smith not only of malicious misrepresentation, but more importantly of not being a competent historian—an aspersion that struck deep and hurt. He criticised the young historian and his work most adversely both to friends and relatives in New York and to consequential personages in England. Under "Remarks on Smith's History of New York," he concluded a letter to his son Alexander with the sentence: "It is not fit that Mr Smith's history should pass for a chronicle of the province of New York," and to the Earl of Hillsborough he stated: "I can take upon myself, if required, to shew from authentic Papers remaining in the office of the Clerk of the Council, that the account given in that History of this affair relating to the Scotch People [the settlement of lands near Lake George by Scotch families under Captain Laughlin Campbell who initiated his undertaking in 1737[4]]is absolutely false and a misrepresentation of facts. In

[4] Smith, *History of the Province of New-York* (NYHS ed. of 1830), I: 291–292. The occasion of Colden's criticism at this time (1764) was that a son of Captain Laughlin Campbell—Lt. Donald Campbell—was currently soliciting a land grant which Colden opposed, that William Smith the historian was acting as Campbell's agent, and that Colden feared the effect of Smith's sympathetic account of the elder Campbell's colonization scheme would prejudice the home authorities in the younger Campbell's favor. Indeed, Colden wrote in a portion of his letter to the Earl of Hillsborough (Aug. 10, 1764), not quoted above, that a member of his Council reported having already seen an order of the King in Council to grant 30,000 acres to Lieutenant Campbell. Colden went on to say: "I can conceive of no reason why the Order of the King has not been presented to me, but that his [Lieutenant Campbell's] Agent Mr Smith Junr is conscious of its being obtained by misrepresentations and false suggestions. . . . I have good reason to suspect that Lt Campbell has supported his pretensions by the History of New York written by William Smith, Junr who is his agent here and that he has received his Instructions from Mr Smith."—*NYHS Coll. for 1876*, p. 345.

numerous other instances the Narrative in that History is inconsistent with Truth and Candor. It was written to serve the purposes of a Faction then in this Province, & with a view to asperse and weaken the administration. Any attentive reader may discover his."[5]

To several of Colden's animadversions Smith entered a strong reply, but with what effect, other than to deepen Colden's conviction of their author's duplicity, is not clear. Smith seems never to have taken his calumniator, a man almost twice his age and one who for fourteen years was the chief administrator of the Province, too seriously. Colden, on the other hand, appears from his persistent derogations to have entertained a certain apprehension that Smith's abilities, and influence in the Colony, would be exerted against him, and to have imagined that Smith's evil disposition lay at the root of a number of his major disappointments.[6] Even faint praise of the younger man, such as: ". . . & Mr Smith Junr a noted Lawyer in this Place, . . ."[7] was given in an ungracious manner, as if to explain why success had not been his, or to prepare himself, his friends, or his correspondents, for a failure or a defeat that might soon befall him.

In 1761 when Colden first administered the affairs of the Province, he claimed that Smith had so prejudiced the newly arrived Governor Monckton against him that a quarrel ensued and that the latter, about to leave on an expedition against Martinique, demanded a bond stipulating that Colden would account for all money received while serving New York as Lieutenant Governor, and would hold one half of the perquisites and salary of the

[5] *NYHS Coll. for 1921*, p. 319 (n.d.); *NYHS Coll. for 1876*, pp. 345–346 (August 10, 1764). Colden also wrote of his times, taking up the history of the Province at the point where Smith, in his 1757 volume, had left of. See "History of Governor William Cosby's Administration and of Lieutenant-Governor George Clarke's Administration through 1737," an account entirely in Colden's own hand, published in *NYHS Coll. for 1935*, pp. 283–355.

[6] For letters, comments, and recriminations by Colden and Smith to one another and to others regarding the latter's History, see *NYHS Coll. for 1921*, pp. 283–286, 289–292, 293–295, 303. Also consult indices in *NYHS Coll. for 1868* (pp. 179–235), *1877*, *1878*, *1918–1923*, *1935*. The History in dispute was *The History of the Province of New-York, from its Discovery, to the Appointment of Gov. Cosby in 1732* (London: 1757).

[7] *NYHS Coll. for 1876*, p. 297.

chief executive for payment to Monckton upon return from his military to his gubernatorial duties. After considerable remonstrance, Colden gave the bond but bitterly blamed Smith for his predicament. ". . . I found that Smith the younger a Lawyer had somehow obtained an Intimacy with General Monckton," he complained, "& like a crafty malicious smooth tongued hypocrite made use of the influence he had obtained in the manner I am about to relate," which in venomous terms he proceeded to do.[8]

The following spring the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations were informed of the controversy in New York over the question of whether judges' commissions should be granted during pleasure or during good behavior, and of how evil and insidious (by Colden's interpretation) had been Smith's part therein. Colden wrote:

> That your Lordships may understand this the better, I think it necessary to inform you, that for some years past, three popular Lawyers [William Livingston, William Smith, Jr., John Morin Scott], educated in Connecticut, who have strongly imbibed the Independent principles of that Country, have zealously endeavoured to propagate their principles both in Religious and Civil matters & for that end make use of every artifice they can invent to calumniate the administration in every Exercise of the Prerogative. In doing this it evidently appears that they think the goodness or holiness of the cause sanctifies every measure necessary for that purpose, however base or wicked it be in itself. . . .
>
> One of them William Smith the younger, having been introduced to settle Mr Monckton's family affairs before he went on the Expedition, insinuated himself so far, as that Mr Monckton blamed me in Council, for not having granted the Judges their Commissions during good beheaviour, as they had them before the late Kings death. I cannot otherwise account for Mr Monckton's doing this without desireing to be informed of the reasons why I had refused Commissions of that Tenure. In truth I strongly suspect that I have felt the effects of this Mans (Smith the Younger) malicious insinuations without the least regard to truth in your Lordships Representation to the King.[9]

[8] *NYHS Coll. for 1876*, pp. 137–141. Colden had been commissioned Lieutenant Governor in the spring of 1761, about the time Monckton had been commissioned Governor, but Colden was sworn into office on August 8th whereas Monckton did not arrive to take the oath until October 26, 1761. Monckton governed in person only until November 18, 1761, when Colden again assumed the reigns of government, which he held until Monckton's return from the Martinique campaign on June 14, 1762.

[9] *Ibid*, pp. 187–188.

One final incident in the drawn-out quarrel between Colden and Smith will be mentioned. In the spring of 1767 Colden had caused a pamphlet he had written, *The Conduct of Cadwallader Colden Esq^r. Lieutenant Governor of New York*, to be printed and privately distributed in London. It had been written to offset other material that had been published in the same city adverse to Colden. In his pamphlet the Lieutenant Governor had vigorously attacked certain agencies and institutions of government in New York as well as those who were responsible for the administration of them. Colden had directed that a few copies of his brochure be sent to New York and had distributed them to his children and friends. A manuscript copy of one of these was placed in the hands of a printer of the City of New York and appeared in his newspaper with a statement that the pamphlet had been written by the Lieutenant Governor.

The reaction of a certain segment of the population of the City to the assertions made therein was censorious, and Colden was placed on the defensive. Moreover, in October 1767, the grand jury of New York County, after being charged by Chief Justice Daniel Horsmanden, and, according to Colden, after being brow-beaten by the other judges of the Supreme Court, presented the pamphlet, "as a very vile, infamous, false and libellous Reflection on his Majesty's Council, Assembly, Courts of Justice and the whole body of the Law in this Province." In this situation Colden began a counteroffensive. Among other forms of action he wrote a number of letters to officials and personages in England. To the Earl of Shelburne he stated:

> A printer here, by what means I know not, obtained a copy and Reprinted it without my privity: it is said a Lawyer, who is one of the Judge's sons [William Smith, son of Judge William Smith], furnished him with a manuscript copy, privately taken from one of the copies printed in London. I had no inclination to appeal to the People, on a subject which comes properly before his Majesty's Ministers; or to excite the malice of the Faction anew against me.[10]

So he wrote, but apparently fearing that in time this breach of

[10] *NYHS Coll. for 1877*, pp. 132–133.

officialdom might become the subject of a legal action in the courts of the Empire sitting at Westminster, Colden addressed himself by letter to the "Right Honble Lord Mansfield," Chief Justice of England, in which he expatiated at some length upon the New York Assembly, the Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province of New York, and the part played in the whole affair by William Smith, Jr. The Lieutenant Governor appears to have desired to have Lord Mansfield on his side if trouble ensued. Serious trouble, however, did not occur. The report of the grand jury was not followed up, and Colden and Smith retired from the battlefield to fight another day.

In these skirmishes and head-on collisions that have been mentioned, glimpses only have been had of Colden's antagonist, William Smith, Jr., the Historian. Before his Estimate of Colden, which constitutes the incentive for the writing of this paper, is set forth, a brief sketch of Smith's life-attainments and place in the society of New York during the third quarter of the 18th century shall be given.

William Smith, Jr., Colonial historian, was born in the City of New York on June 25, 1728, the eldest son of William and Mary (Hett) Smith.[1] As had his father, Smith attended Yale College, graduating in 1745 when not quite eighteen years of age. After studying law under his father's tutelage, and following admission to the New York Bar in 1750, he entered actively into the life and affairs of the Province. He rose rapidly in his profession, his services being widely sought after. His marriage in 1752 to Janet, daughter of the prosperous merchant James Livingston, member of the influential New York family of that name, gave him social standing and financial independence. As a judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province, and as a member of the Governor's Council of New York, his father was also of great assistance to him. Indeed, Judge Smith resigned from the New York Council on the condition that his son would be

[1] The accounts in the DAB of both William Smith, Sr. (1679–1769) and William Smith, Jr. (1728–1793) contain a number of errors.

allowed to succeed him. As a Councilor, Smith was in a favored position to observe Lieutenant Governor Colden closely.

The literary effort for which William Smith, Jr., is best known is, *The History of the Province of New York, from the First Discovery to the Year M.DCC.XXXII.* Published in London in 1757, this is a work that gave its author and continues to give him the reputation of having been an accomplished historian. Smith's *Diary* and *Memoirs*, still in manuscript form, together with a considerable volume of notes, essays, and letters covering the years 1699-1783, are an exceptionally rich storehouse of material relating to New York, the Colonies generally, the English government, and the British colonial administrative policy of the period particularly following 1760.[12]

Smith's qualifications for the writing of an appraisal of the personality and character of Cadwallader Colden whose influence and work in New York ran parallel to his from 1760 to 1776 would, therefor, seem to be of a superior nature.

At the time he entered the sketch of Colden in his *Memoirs*, William Smith had left the city of New York and was residing at his country estate near Haverstraw, Orange County, New York. Discouraged and possibly disillusioned by the civil disorder prevailing throughout the Province in which he had been a leading figure and in the future government of which he could otherwise have looked forward confidently to playing a prominent role, and convinced that Cadwallader Colden had done little to assuage the temper of the citizenry of the Colony in their asserted desire for independence, but on the contrary had throughout half a century aggravated the relationship between

[12] The *Diary* and *Memoirs* are in the New York Public Library. They comprise nine bound volumes and six boxes of papers. For a brief account of them see, *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, Vol. 20, p. 221, and Vol. 24, pp. 125–6 (1916, 1920). Among these are a continuation of *The History of the Province of New York to 1762* (published by The New-York Historical Society in 1826, and again, with a reprint of the 1757 vol. in 1829 and 1830), and an "Introduction to the History of Governor Tryon's Administration of North Carolina." William Livingston, William Smith, and John Morin Scott in 1757 published *A Review of the Military Operations in North America . . . 1753 . . . 1756*. Smith also contributed generously to the *Independent Reflector* (1752–1753), and to the *Occasional Reverberator* (1753), both of which were published in New York.

mother country and colonists, Smith expressed himself with greater asperity than might otherwise have been the case. He wrote:

L^t Gov^r Colden finished his Course 21 Sep^r [1776] at Flushing [Long Island] in the 89 Year of his Age. He was the Son of a Country Minister in Scotland, married there, arrived with his Family & practised Physic first in Pensilvania, & then here [New York] in the Beginning of this Century. Being introduced into the Council, and appointed to succeed Allen Jurrat as Surveyor General, and more inclined to a recluse than an active Life, he spent the greatest Part of his Time on a Tract of Land called Coldenham after his own Name, in the South Part of the County of Ulster. The Reins of Government fell into his Hands on the Death of L^t Gov^r DeLancey in 1760—Again on Gen^l Monkton's Expedition to Martinque in 1762, the third Time when that Gov. returned to England in 1764. Again in Sep^r 1769 on the Death of Sir Henry Moore, & once more when M^r Tryon was called home in April 1774, on our Disputes with New Hampshire. Strictly speaking the Command of the Province fell into his Hands again, when this Governor lived on Ship board last Spring at Sandy Hook, waiting the Arrival of the British Army, but I believe he kept the Custody of the Great Seal, and his Lieut^t, if he had it, was in no Condition, and therefore without any Inclination to use it. While he was last in the Chair [of the New York Council], his Faculties were so impaired by Age, as to be intirely dictated to by others. He often fell asleep while the Council were in Debate, and on Hearings and Disputes in the Land Department, used to retire, till we called him in, when he would concur in any Minute or Resolution form'd by the Majority, without ever desiring to be informed concerning the merits of the Controversy.

Inhabiting the Woods the greater Part of his Life, he slighted a Profession, which could not be profitable in a poor Neighborhood, and performing his Surveys by Deputies, & resigning his Farm to the Superintendency of his Wife, a Woman of good Sense, he confined himself to his Room, and indulged his Inclination to Botany History, and the Mathematical Branches of Natural Philosophy.

If he had always confined himself to his Books in the Shade of rural obscurity that Duplicity, Pride, Craft, Obstinacy, Vanity-Petulance, Ambition, Vindictive Spirit and Avarice for which he was afterwards detested, would have escaped the public Eye, & the Character he left, would have been that of a Scholar, tho' I always thought him rather a Man of Genius than Erudition—He was quick and subtle, conceited and fond of Disputation, easily flattered and anxious for Preheminence on all Topics of Conversation, and rather disgustful than insinuating for he was hot, coarse & assuming. On religious Subjects he was ever off his Guard, carrying his Ridicule, beyond the Faults of the Clergy, to their Profes-

sion itself. His Scepticism molded to open Infidelity, and he often discovered a Pyrronism, not favorable to the essential Restraint of the Religion of Nature, being as much as a speculative Man, not a gross Sensualist, could be de Gre[c]q[u]e Epicure—He was an intellectual Debauchee. I have heard the Philosopher indulge Smutt highly diverted at the Mirth of his Company who only laughed at the Contrast between his Tongue and his Looks and the Absurdities of his discourse.

Governor Clinton's Distresses during the factious Rage of the DeLancey Family brought M^r^ Colden out of his Retirement. He hired his Pen to that Governor & received Wages for his Councils and Labours, and by his Violence rendered it necessary to the public Tranquility that the Governor should be recalled. Chief Justice DeLancey was then aiming at the Lieut. Gov^r^'s Place, which he afterwards acquired and his Brother in Law [,] Sir Peter Warren [,] at the same time sought the Chief Command. Colden was suspected of betraying the Governor in Hopes of becoming President of the Council, of which he was then the oldest Member. DeLancey succeeded, and Colden who had retired to his Cell suspected by Clinton, did not appear again on the public Stage till the Death of his Antagonist; and then he took the Chair, under every possible Disadvantage, friendless and poor, and abhorred by all Ranks and Classes. He lived to mend his Fortunes, and by timid Condescensions to a prevailing Party, to gain a Respite from the Anguish of Scandal, but he never could repair the Breaches made upon his Reputation. The World in general hated him as attached to the Prerogative,[13] and under that Point of View, Chief Justice DeLancey represented him to the Colony. Indeed he sought to rise on that Ladder, and his Success proved that he had made his Choice with Discernment, since Wealth and Ambition were his Aims; but when his Duty to the Crown, stood in the Way of his Interest, he found no Embarrassmts in sacrificing both his own Reputation & the Rights of his Master, to the Idol of self Love. I have often held up his Instructions as a Rule for his Conduct, but never with Success, when they were incompatible with his private Views. If they favored them, he recollected them in an Instant, magnified their Authority, and exacted our Conformity, with a Submission to the very Letter, as if they were the Commandments of the Deity.

In the Rage of Party he got the Nick Name of, the Drummer, and was charged with being in the [Scottish Highlanders'] Rebellion of 1715. Chief Justice Horsmanden told me, that Gov^r^ Montgomerie gave Rise to this Imputation; and that it was the more readily believed from his Habit of throwing the left Knee forward with a Hitch, in his Gait, as well as the Smallness of his Stature and the Time of his Emigration from Scotland. In allusion to this Report Colden said pleasantly enough, when Sir Henry Moore died, that he was, "tho' old, able still to beat the Drum."

[13] For a discussion of this see *NYHS Coll for 1945*, pp. 176–177, 240–244, 403–404.

And in refuting the Calumny he used to confess that he did beat a Drum when a Boy by his Father's order in the Church Yard, but that it was for Volunteers, on the Royal Side of the Question—It occurs to me while I am writing, that he was then 27 Years of Age, and from the low Circumstances of his Father, probably not a Member of his Family.[14]

This Article is of very small Moment. There is an anecdote much more characteristic of the Man, and which passing under my own Eye, ever left a strong Impression concerning his Principles, upon my Mind.

There never was a regular Digest of our Colony Code of Laws, till that published by W^m^ Livingston and myself in 1752—We were Clerks in my Father's Office when we proposed to execute this Work, and a Law was passed for that Purpose in 1750.

In examining the Records we could not find the Original of the Act of 12 May 1699 for vacating sundry extravagant Grants.[15] On this Occasion we consulted Chief Justice DeLancey[,] M^r^ Chambers[,] M^r^ Alexander & my Father. The Act was of vast Importance to all such as held under second Grants of the Lands comprised in the vacated Patents, and we had not the least Doubt of its being regularly passed but the publication of it from Bradford's Edition without any Marginal Note to that Purpose would neither consist with Fedelity to our Trust nor Safety to ourselves & our Reputations, for as every Law we printed was to be compared with the Original, we should leave ourselves open to the Charge of being the last in whose Custody it had been. Our Determination therefore was to print it among others but with a Note that the Original could not be found and this was agreeable to the Advice we received from the Gentlemen aforenamed all of whom[,] M^r^ DeLancey excepted[,] held lands in Evans Patent under new Grants.

Colden whose Farm lay within those Limits came to Town at this Juncture, and hearing of our Intention, urged strenously for our leaving out the Note, and would listen to no Argument ag^t^ his Importunity. At a second Interview in the Presence of my Father, he flew into a Rage, and swore if we persisted, that we should never get Gov^r^ Clinton's Hand to the Certificate, upon which the Treasurer was to pay us our Reward. I resented the Meaness and Injustice of this Attempt upon my Honor, and told him, that he and the Money might go to the Devil, and rushed out

[14] For Colden's explanation of his part on the Royal Side in the Uprising of 1715, and why he "beat the drum," see the *N. Y. Hist. Society's Coll. for 1877*, pp. 63–64. He asserts that Daniel Horsmanden, later Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province of New York, "in a scurrilous Party Paper" (about 1747) attacked him as "the Rebell Drummer," thus giving the story of Colden's part a "malicious turn."

[15] Smith refers to "An Act for ye Vacating Breaking & Anulling several Extravagant Grants of Land made by Coll Fletcher the late Govr of this Province under his Majesties" actually passed (*i.e.*, signed into law by the Governor) on May 16, 1699.—*The Colonial Laws of New York*, I (1894), p. 412. The original has not yet been found, although there can be no doubt of its passage.

of the Room. He after that applied in soothing Terms to Mr Livingston, but both of us despised his Arts & Threats & maintained our Opinions, for which he never forgave us.

On the Publication of the History of this Province,[16] he took umbrage at the Account I gave of the Breach of our public Faith to Capt [Laughlin] Campbel & his Associates & called for Satisfaction in Print, menacing me with a Prosecution by Information for scandalizing the Government. I gave him an Answer to his Letter,[17] which it seems added Fuel to the old Flame, for after the Chief Command devolved upon him by the Death of Mr DeLancey in 1760, dining at Sir Jeffery [*sic*] Amherst's, and hearing Govr Ellis of Georgia who spent the Winter of 1760/1 here quote my History for a Character of Sir Edmond Andross [*sic*], he expressed himself in Terms of diffidence respecting my Veracity—Ellis at that Time was my Friend, and daily at my House, and entred so warmly into the Defence of my Character, that Sir Jeff [*sic*] to put an end to the Altercations, called upon Mr Chief Justice Horsmanden as a Competent Witness respecting my Reputation, & upon his attesting it to be unexceptionable, Sir Jeffery said the Cause is decided by the Judge, & Ellis finished with sayg Your Honor [*i.e.*, Colden] does not know Mr Smith; and nothing further passed, till Colden going Home with Govr Ellis in the Chariot, begg'd his Silence as to what respected me for that in Truth he did not know me, & in Answer to Ellis's Wonder at it, he said there was a Bickering between our Wives, which had kept us at a Distance, since his coming to Town to assume the Reins of Government. The very Reverse of this was true, for there had been a long Intimacy between Mrs Colden and the Family into which I married, & between Colden himself and my own Father, and at that very Time, my Wife interchanged Visits with Mrs Colden & his Daughters from which I abstained, on Account of the Affront in 1751—Such was the Falsehood & Cowardice of the Man! Ellis insisted upon Secrecy or I would have exposed his Meaness at that Day, for he told me the Story the very next Morning, upon my Promise to do Nothing, that might bring two Servants of the Crown together by the Ears.

With these Proofs of his vindictive Temper, I could not help watching and suspecting his Conduct, and I have elsewhere preserved the Remembrance of several Instances of it[18]—But he is gone, and Peace to his Shade! —Sensible that he had injured me, he took several Things after that in ill

[16] William Smith, *The History of the Province of New York, from the First Discovery to the year M.DCC.XXXII*, published in London in 1757. This work was reprinted with Smith's continuation down to 1762 by The New-York Historical Society in 1829 and again in 1830 in two volumes under the title, *The History of the Late Province of New York*.

[17] For the acrimonious exchange of letters between Colden and Smith consult material referred to in note 6 above.

[18] It is not known what instances Smith here had in mind.

Part, as proceeding from Revenge, but tho' he discovered Fear & sometimes courted smiles from me, I stood aloof and yet he never confessed his Fault, nor did I seek any Opportunity to do him Harm, tho' I confess I abhorred his Character & opposed his Power, & some of his Designs,—He told Mr Murray at Tavern during Mr Clinton's Admn, that a wise Foe would always pretend Friendship, when he meant to give his Adversary the deepest Thrust; and to Mr Alsop his Neighbour in Ulster he discovered his true Character long before, in laughing at Friendship, as a Meer Sound. Every Man says he, is born in a State of War, with the Principle of Self-Preservation, and Disguize is one of the best Weapons, Nature has put into his Hands for his own Utility & Defence—He that gives Confidence to others is a Fool. These Anecdotes were known to every Body, when Mr Colden acted the Part of prime Minister to Govr Clinton. I little expected then to have so much Reason to believe what I heard with Indifference when a Boy, & from my Father's connections with Mr Clinton & Mr Colden, was led to slight as the Asperity of Party Feuds, tho' I never heard that Alsop and Colden were at Variance. Murray was an open Enemy of Clinton's & devoted to DeLancey by whom he was flattered, but died with the Reputation of a Man of the strictest Integrity & Veracity, and had a Sense of Honor seldom carried to the highest Elevation, but by such proud Spirits as himself. When Colden sacrificed his Reputation for Vertue, that he might raise Murray's Idea of his Abilities, by the memorable and incautious Speech aforementioned, in which his Craft played the Suicide, Murray arose & replied, "then it is dangerous to set near you," and stalked with a grave Formality, according to his Manner, out of the Company.[39]

As was suggested above, this assessment of the character and endeavor in the Colony of New York of Cadwallader Colden may have been overdrawn, even exaggerated. Opinions of it doubtless will differ. Nevertheless, in arriving at a judgment of the appraisal it should be born in mind that Smith wrote in the seclusion of a country estate and entered his estimate in a *Diary* that remained unnoticed for nearly one hundred and forty years following the registration of it. Whatever may be thought, it is a valuation that will throw new light upon the character of one of the most controversial figures of the second and third quarters of the 18th century in Colonial New York.

[39] *William Smith Diary*, Ms. Vol. 5, October 30, 1776. Manuscript Room, New York Public Library. Permission to use this Diary and to make extracts from it, is gratefully acknowledged.

GALLATIN REVISITED: PART THREE

THE NOT SO DREADFUL MR. ASTOR

by WAYNE ANDREWS, *Curator of Manuscripts*

JOHN JACOB ASTOR (1763–1848)
Engraving (detail) after Alonzo Chappel
Duyckinck's *National Portrait Gallery*, II: 30

GOD MOVES in a mysterious way his wonders to perform, and even snobs may serve some purpose which we cannot fathom here below. Perhaps, then, we should be patient with the supercilious young men we have always with us; perhaps we should even do our best to stifle a yawn when we come to those passages in the diary of James Gallatin in which he presumes to pass judgment on the company his parents kept. As all readers of young Gallatin will recall, he felt obliged to apologize for the presence of John Jacob Astor in his father's drawing-room. "Although he [my father] respected Mr. Astor," the prudent son of the great statesman explained, "he never could place himself on the same level with him. I am not surprised, as Astor was a butcher's son at Waldorf—came as an emigrant to this country with a pack on his back. He peddled furs, was very clever, and is, I believe one of the kings of the fur trade. He dined here and ate his ice-cream and peas with a knife."

But this was not the only occasion on which the table manners of John Jacob Astor offended James Gallatin. "Really Mr. Astor is dreadful," the diarist sighed, recalling the damage done to his sister's dress at lunch. "Father has to be civil to him, as in 1812–13

he rendered great services to the Treasury. He came to *déjeuner* today; we were simply *en famille*, he sitting next to Frances. He actually wiped his fingers on the sleeves of her fresh white spencer. Mamma in discreet tones said, 'Oh, Mr. Astor, I must apologize; they have forgotten to give you a serviette.' I think he felt foolish."

It would never have occurred to James Gallatin that the millionaire's error was possibly the mistake of an aging gentleman in need of spectacles, but some such thought must have flashed across the mind of the master of the house, for Albert Gallatin was always willing to excuse the failings of a businessman who rallied, as Astor did, to the side of the government in an anxious hour. In the spring of 1813, when the Federalists of New York refused to lend a penny to the desperate Treasury, Secretary Gallatin was pleasantly surprised to find that three foreign-born capitalists—Stephen Girard, Daniel Parish, and John Jacob Astor —were ready to take up $10,000,000 of our securities. And if Astor himself subscribed to only $2,000,000 of this, he nevertheless made it much easier to secure fair terms from Girard and Parish. Moreover, as Gallatin once reminded Madison, the sum that Astor lent was "much more than was convenient and did much embarras him."

The longer Gallatin thought about this, the higher Astor rose in his esteem; in the end, as the voluminous correspondence between the millionaire and the statesman in our Gallatin Collection eloquently testifies, the two men grew to be the closest of acquaintances. No doubt Gallatin, like Washington Irving, came to understand that Astor was "a strong-minded man, and one from whose conversation much curious information is to be derived."

We do not know how or when the millionaire and the statesman first met, but by the winter of 1808 Astor presumed to send Mrs. Gallatin a "muff & tibbet." "I hope," he said, "it will please I must however confess that it is not quit so handsom as I could wish it to be It will be as good next Sommer as now & if therefor

it should not quite sute or if the Tibbit das not fit you will be so good as to keep it for this Season & return it to me next Samer when I may pasebly get Some Skins of better quality."

This was only the first of Astor's many gifts to the Gallatin family. There came toys for the children, two cases of wine "of the first fruits of my Columbia River scheme" for Mrs Gallatin's husband, and a set of china for Mrs. Gallatin herself. Apparently the friendship between the millionaire and the statesman was threatened only once, when Astor in 1810 asked Gallatin "to suspend forming an opinion with regard as to the proprioity of having bought £50,000 sterling in British government bills." "There ware circumbstances connected with that transaction which are not to be braught befor the Publick but which I will in a day or two comunicate to you," Astor pleaded. Wearily, Gallatin scratched on the back of the letter: "I believe that the only explanation will be that he made money by it."

What might have been a quarrel was soon mended, however, and by the time Gallatin set sail for the peace negotiations ultimately concluded at Ghent, Astor was so bold as to write Mrs. Gallatin a word or two of condolence over her husband's absence. "Tho I know it will be a terrible Struggel for you yet I know that when you think how great the Recampence for the Sacrifice *which must* be made you will resign and be somwhat consoled think of the Price the Peace the Happeyness of a whole nation is to be the reward."

During the long years of Gallatin's stay abroad, in Ghent, in Paris, and in London, Astor watched as only Astor could over Gallatin's investments, thoughtfully supplied him with tea and cigars, and furnished him with the latest gossip of finance and financiers, and politics and politicians. Perhaps the most affecting piece of news which the millionaire forwarded was that of the death in 1817 of A. J. Dallas, Gallatin's successor in the Treasury. "I Saw him," wrote Astor, "some days befor at Trenton he apeard then as if he was nearly gone he had enquired whethr I had any letter from you how gratifying would it have been to his

feelings to have known your friendly & affectioned Sentiments towards him—I will comunicate them to his famely it will be of great Consolation to them & they stand in need of it—he has left not a dollar but his house while in Washington he Spent $12,000 more than his income."

There were days when Astor felt it was high time Gallatin came home to enlighten the moneyed men of the nation. "Why did you not stay & give me your advise & cleare from my eyes the fog I would be thousands richer," he complained after witnessing the troublesome election of the directors of the Second Bank of the United States in 1816. "The gentlemen who made up a ticket here had managed so badly as to derange every thing thus mush for the Republickans the Federalists did much wares for they absolutly made efforts to Ruin the very Bank & prevent its going into operation."

Like many a millionaire before or since, Astor lived in dread of being cheated by tradesmen, and when he and Mrs. Astor decided the time had come to order a plate service cast in Paris, he appealed to Gallatin for protection. "I trust you will escuse my taking this liberty the fact is I wanted not trouble you but I know that in Franes they are such Cheats that I could scarcely espect to have justics done me if not some friend to look to it & besides Som Taste is necessary in order to give the proper Derechans in having it made."

When Gallatin himself was obliged to denounce the tradesmen of Europe, Astor instantly offered his sympathy. "I see you have soon discovered some of the fine qualitys of the shopkeepers Tradsmen Servents & & to your cost I suppose—william wrot to me from Roam that since he had enterd Itally he had been fighten his way from one End of the Country to the other to prevent his being Cheated by every Postmaster Tradsman & Tavernkeeper so you see you are not alone nor are these fine qaulitys confined to one country we shall have them here but thank God it will not be in our time nor that of our children."

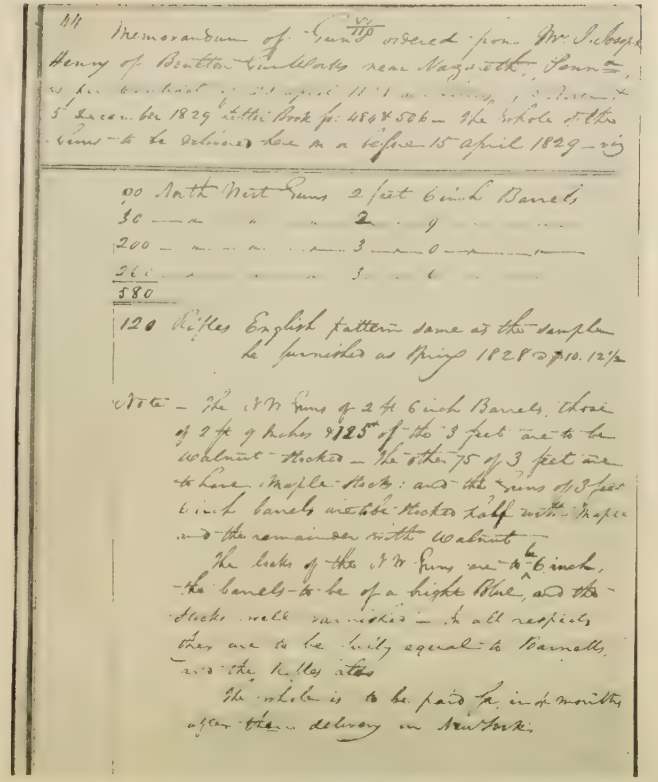
Gallatin should not spend *too* much time in the service of his

country, Astor reasoned, for a man with Gallatin's business ability properly belonged in the business world. "By the papers," Astor wrote in the summer of 1822, "you are much wanted as President of the U. S. Bank—if I were permitted to give an opinion, I would say that in no situation could you render better Servis to this country than that unless you were President of the U. S." Incidentally Astor was not one of those who fancied that Nicholas Biddle was the best possible president of the bank in question. "He is a Statesman," the millionaire commented, "& I feare will not add much to the value of the stock."

Like many another businessman, Astor dreamed dreams, and his dearest ambition was a partnership with Gallatin himself. Eagerly he wrote the statesman in the fall of 1815: "I propose to give you a sketch of the situation of my concerns that you may judge of everything and also state the proportion of Interest which I propose to part with to you of my business which if you think to small I want you to tell me without Reserve." All of which meant that he was willing to give Gallatin a one-fifth interest in $800,000 worth of merchandise and ships and bank credit.

Gallatin declined, perhaps because he did not wish to "die rich"—to quote James Gallatin's diary—but more likely because he dreaded the prospect of losing his independence. Eventually, in 1829, Gallatin was willing to accept the presidency of an Astor-sponsored New York bank; this may have been because he was anxious to start his two sons in the banking business.

Meantime Astor could not conceal how deeply he regretted the opportunity he had lost. "I am more than ever sorry not to be 10 or 15 years younger with my Capital & your Credit & name we could get all the good business of Europe," he confessed to Gallatin in the spring of 1827. "But as it is I feel as if I were too old & Require too much time for the preservation of my health to attend much to business &" —startling disclosure from one of the greatest of American millionaires:—"I feel also as if I had fortune enough."



Memorandum of Guns ordered from Mr. Schoyer Henry of Boutton Smallarks near Magstock Penn.a for the Steamboat ... 31 August 1829 ... 5 December 1829 Letter Book pp. 480 & 506 ... the whole of the Guns to be delivered Free on board ... 15 April 1829 ...

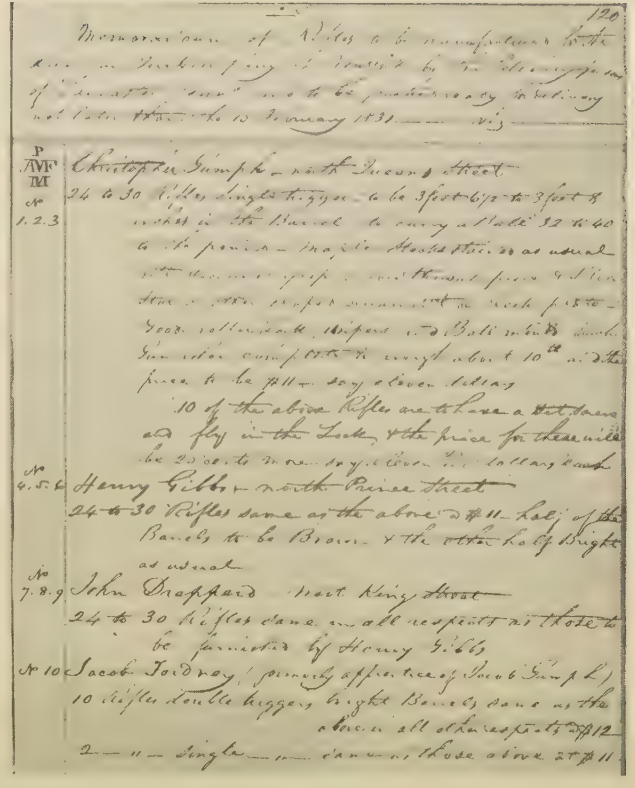
100 North West Guns 2 feet 6 inch Barrels
30 — " " " 2 " "
200 — " " " 3 — 0 —
26 " " " 3 " 6 "
580

120 Rifles English pattern same as the sample he furnished us Spring 1828 @ $10.12½

Note — The NW Guns of 2 ft 6 inch Barrels, those of 2 ft 9 inches @ $25 ... the 3 feet are to be Walnut Stocks — the other ¾ of 3 feet are to have Maple Stocks: and the Guns of 3 feet 6 inch barrels are to be Stocked half with Maple and the remainder with Walnut —

The locks of the NW Guns are to be 6 inch, the Barrels to be of a bright Blue, and the Stocks well varnished — in all respects they are to be fully equal to Barnetts, and the Rifles also

The whole is to be paid for in 4 months after the delivery in New York.



Memorandum of Rifles to be manufactured by the ... in Birmingham ... Sample to be produced ... not later than the 15 February 1831 ...

P AM F M

Christopher Dumpf — north Second Street

No 1.2.3 — 24 to 30 Rifles Single Trigger to be 3 feet 6½ to 3 feet 8 inches in the Barrel to carry a Ball 32 to 40 to the pound — Maple Stocks otherwise as usual ... Good rolled steel Ramrods ... Ball moulds ... Gun wipers ... weight about 10 lbs ... price to be $11 ... say eleven dollars

10 of the above Rifles are to have a ... and fly in the Locks, & the price for these will be 25 cts more ... say eleven 25 dollars each

No 4.5.6 Henry Gibbs — north Prince Street

24 to 30 Rifles same as the above @ $11 — half of the Barrels to be Brown & the other half Bright as usual

No 7.8.9 John Drappard — West King Street

24 to 30 Rifles same in all respects as those to be furnished by Henry Gibbs

No 10 Jacob Tordray (formerly apprentice of Jacob Dumpf)

10 Rifles Double Triggers, bright Barrels same as the above in all other respects @ $12

2 — " — Single — same as those above @ $11

MEMORANDA OF AMERICAN FUR COMPANY ORDERS FOR GUNS, 1829 AND 1831

American Fur Company Papers at The New-York Historical Society

GUNMAKERS FOR THE AMERICAN FUR COMPANY*

by JOHN E. PARSONS[1]

ALMOST any article of personal use fabricated in the United States of a century ago has become a sort or kind of Americana. Not only are such things avidly collected as antiques, but the story of their making grows interesting quite in proportion to their original obscurity. Before 1850 commonplace articles were not much advertised or illustrated; they were taken for granted and casual mention in the writings of the time is often the only remaining record of their use. So where precise documentation is found, it has a value of its own approximating the appeal to collectors of the objects themselves. When these have well-nigh all disappeared, the written record is even more significant.

Such a record for the years 1828 to 1842 is contained in the letters and books of the American Fur Company,[2] as regards countless articles made for trade with the trappers and Indians of the Northwest. Beads, blankets, utensils and firearms figure among the major categories, the last being particularly well documented. Not only are orders from frontier agents recorded, but specifications to and correspondence with the fabricators have been preserved in great detail.

In 1828 John Jacob Astor was still the proprietor of the Fur Company, its main office and supply center being in New York City, with principal agents in Detroit, Mackinac, St. Louis and

* Copyright 1952—John E. Parsons.

[1] In addition to the publications by Mr. Parsons mentioned in the note to his article "Samuel Colt's Medals from the American Institute" in the July 1949 issue of the *Quarterly*, he has had published two books on Colt and Deringer firearms, one which was reviewed in the October 1951 *Quarterly*, the other to be reviewed in a later issue.

[2] See *Calendar of The American Fur Company's Papers* (Washington, D. C.: Gov't Printing Off., 1945), 2 vols., with introductory essay by Grace Lee Nute, reprinted from *The American Historical Review*, April 1927, Vol. XXXII, No. 3. The papers themselves are in the Library of The New-York Historical Society.

Prairie du Chien. Trade goods were shipped out from New York either by sailing vessels to New Orleans, and then up the Mississippi River by steamboat, or via the Erie Canal to Buffalo and the Great Lakes. Most firearms and supplies in bulk travelled the former route, the demand for them being greater in St. Louis than at any other point. There the Company's correspondents were Pratte, Chouteau & Co.; in 1838, four years after sale by Astor of the Western Department of the Fur Company to this firm, it became Pierre Chouteau, Jr. & Co. Goods were forwarded from St. Louis by steamboat up the Mississippi to the head of navigation, or up the Missouri River as far as Fort Union. The Company maintained a number of trapping and trading units, principally the Upper Missouri Outfit based at Fort Pierre and Fort Union, the Western Outfit at Prairie du Chien, the Sioux Outfit at St. Peter's, the Northern Outfit at La Pointe, and the St. Mary's Outfit at Sault Ste. Marie. Besides acting as Company agents in St. Louis, Pratte, Chouteau & Co. after 1834 traded for their own account in the territory west of the Mississippi.

Since its organization in 1808, the Fur Company had of course been dealing in firearms, but its orders for 1828 are the earliest that have been preserved. At that time it handled three main types of arms—all of which were specially made for it—rifles of the so-called "American" or "Lancaster" pattern, rifles of the "English" pattern, and "North West" guns. An order for 100 rifles to Jacob Gumph, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania,[a] is the first recorded, on March 1, 1828. These were to be made according to a sample furnished, and shipped to St. Louis, via Pittsburgh. A second order, directed to the maker destined to become the chief supplier of rifles for the Fur Company, is addressed to "J. Joseph Henry of Boulton Gun Works, near Nazareth, Penn[a]." It comprises "120 Rifles English pattern same as the sample he furnished us Spring 1828 @ $10.12 1/2" and 580 North West guns. These

[a] See Frank R. Diffenderffer, "The Lancaster Rifles," *Lancaster County Historical Society Papers* (1904), IX, No. 3; H. K. and G. D. Landis, "Lancaster Rifles" and "Lancaster Rifle Accessories," *Pennsylvania German Folklore Society Yearbook* (1942, 1944), Vols. VII: 107 and IX: 119.

latter were flintlock smoothbores, walnut or maple stocked with square butts, and ordered usually according to length of barrel, from 2 feet 6 inches to 4 feet. Specifications of the Henry order state "The locks of the N. W. guns are to be 6 inch, the barrels to be of a bright Blue, and the Stocks to be well varnished."

It is of interest to note that no further orders for North West guns were placed with J. Joseph Henry, the Company's requirements thereafter being obtained more cheaply from abroad. In 1829 450 guns were imported from England through Treadwell, Kissam & Co. of New York, and 500 from Liége through Wolfe, Spies & Clark. Their cost was only $4.50 to $5.75 apiece, and specifications provided that the locks were to be marked "Barnett." This was the name of a London gunmaker for Hudson's Bay Company, and the Fur Company wished to capitalize on it even though the guns were furnished from another source. Subsequent orders for "Barnett" marked guns are recorded for each year down to 1835, some being supplied from England and others from Belgium. A requisition to the Company from its St. Louis agent in 1832 notes:

> The North West Guns are one of the articles most important in our business, and our traders in general complain of those of this year, especially in the posts of the Upper Missouri, where they make the most use of them. The Stocks are a little too heavy, and not crooked enough, —but the worst of it is that every stock is made of two pieces joined at the breech and this the Indians cannot endure. When the Stock is new and varnished, you hardly discover this imperfection, but when they have been used, or exposed to the wet, it has an ugly effect, and very often the Indians bring them back to be exchanged for better, or those who have them on credit will not pay for them.

Preference in the trade for North West guns of English make is stressed in several letters from the Fur Company to James Henry,[4] who succeeded his father J. Joseph Henry in 1836: "we have already sent our requisitions to England for probably all

[4] For five generations the Henrys were a noted family of Pennsylvania gunsmiths.–John G. W. Dillin, *The Kentucky Rifle*, 3rd ed. (New York: 1946), 47, 107; L. D. Satterlee and Col. Arcadi Gluckman, *American Gun Makers* (Buffalo: 1940), 70.

we shall require. . . . We cannot hold out any encouragement for North West guns. Our people will not take any but the English." At this time the Company was ordering direct from abroad, through Lacy & Reynolds of London and William Chance Son & Co. of Birmingham. It was paying $4.25 for ordinary North West guns and $6.50 for Chiefs' grade. Not until 1843 did the Company have a kind word for the domestic product, and this in an equivocal letter solicited by Henry E. Leman of Lancaster, then seeking a Government contract:

> I . . . have again examined your North West Gun, which I consider in all respects fully equal to the best of the English, and far superior to any I have yet seen of our domestic manufacture . . . We are now independent of England for a number of articles required for our Indian trade and for which we formerly had to rely on European workshops; and I hope you will soon be able to compete with the foreign North West gun in price, as you have already done in quality.

But with regard to rifles, the Fur Company steadfastly gave its patronage to the Pennsylvania gunsmiths, even when procuring the "English" pattern. An order of December 23, 1830 is directed to four Lancaster makers, Christopher Gumph, Henry Gibbs, John Drepperd, and Jacob Fordney.[5] Specifications were for both single- and double-trigger weapons "3 feet 6–1/2 to 3 feet 8 inches in the Barrel, to carry a Ball 32 to 40 to the pound—Maple Stocks stained as usual with checquered grip, Silver thumb-piece & Silver Star or other shaped ornament on cheek-plate—good roller Lock, Wipers, and Ball mould—Each gun when

[5] See Henry J. Kauffman, *Early American Gunsmiths* (Harrisburg: 1952), 26–40; Dillin, *op. cit.*, 104–106.

NORTH WEST GUNS MADE BY BARNETT, LONDON, 1846 AND 1847

Barrel length about 3½ feet, bore .60 inches. The enlarged details of the gun locks (lower right) show the 1846 flintlock above and its 1847 conversion to percussion below. The serpentine side plate of brass and the stamp of a sitting fox above the letters FB were identifying marks of Hudson's Bay Company trade guns. The inset detail (upper left) shows a Blackfoot Indian with a North West gun, drawn by Charles Bodmer, 1833, from Maximilian's *Travels in North America.*

Courtesy of Hudson's Bay Company

HALF-BLOOD AND SIOUX INDIAN WITH LANCASTER-PATTERN RIFLES, 1851
Sketched by Francis B. Mayer at Traverse de Sioux, 1851
Courtesy of The New York Public Library

complete to weigh about 10[lb.] and the price to be $11." Half of the barrels were to be bright and half brown. These specifications of course describe what is now called the "Kentucky" rifle, although that term was scarcely ever used at the time.[a]

When it came to "English" rifles, J. Joseph Henry received all the orders for that pattern, and in 1831 he also began making the Lancaster model for the Fur Company. Specifications of the latter called for the same length and calibre as the order just quoted, the design in other respects to follow "the Sample Rifle

[a] Only one such reference is found in The American Fur Co. papers, Orders Inward, III: 218. See also Joe Kindig, Jr., "The Pedigree of the Pennsylvania Rifle," *Antiques*, September 1932, XXII: 101.

of J. Dickert Gill[7] now furnished by the Co." For several years Henry supplied annually about 200 rifles of both patterns to the Company, which placed other orders for the Lancaster model with Henry Gibbs and John Brandt of Lancaster and Martin Smith[8] of Greenfield, Massachusetts.

Upon the change in ownership of the American Fur Company, J. Joseph Henry made a determined bid for its exclusive patronage. To Ramsay Crooks, the new president and a principal stockholder, he sent a new model rifle described in a letter of September 19, 1834, as follows:

> The barrel is say, 3 ft. 7 in. cal 45, plain maple stock varnished & polished light color—oval cheek piece, similar to the E. Patt. Rifle—the shape like the Lancast. Pattern. The lock is made from the same pattern & by the same workmen as the rifle locks now made by the contractors[9] of rifles for the U. S. Indian Department; . . . It is likewise the same as I am now making for the State of South Carolina . . . the plate & inside work is thick & strong: the hammer has a stout tail, which on the common kind of locks is so liable to break off: the hammer spring is without roller . . . The guard to this rifle is a scroll guard, which is not put on as much for ornament, as to give the hand a complete grip of the gun, & to make the hold more secure. The Breech pin, which next to the lock is the most important improvement about this rifle, is 6 inches long & is thick & strong: the trigger plate consists of a strong piece of wrought iron, running below the guard, the whole length of the breech pin; there are two cross screws passing through the stock from the breech pin to the trigger plate: which renders it impossible for the stock to break at the place where it is most liable to be broken: viz: the grip. The box is the same as that of the Eng. Patt. Rifle. . . . The barrel has an electrum[10] sight.

These specifications describe the "New English" or "Scroll-guard" pattern rifle, as it came to be called by the Fur Company

[7] Kauffman, *op. cit.*, 26, lists a Jacob Gill of Lancaster.

[8] See Dillin, *op. cit.*, 134.

[9] Henry was not one of these, as a letter of February 15, 1833 to the Department from George W. Tryon indicates: "I am aware that application is now making (and perhaps at a less price) by a gentleman from Nazareth, in this State, who would be connected in the manufacture with Mr. Joseph Henry of the same place. Mr. Henry, I presume, does not apply in his own name, as he is well known in all the departments for his continuous, though for many years unsuccessful, application for employment. I will merely state that he is one of the most embittered opponents of the present administration." Sen. Doc. 512, 23rd Cong. 1st Sess., Serial 244, 915.

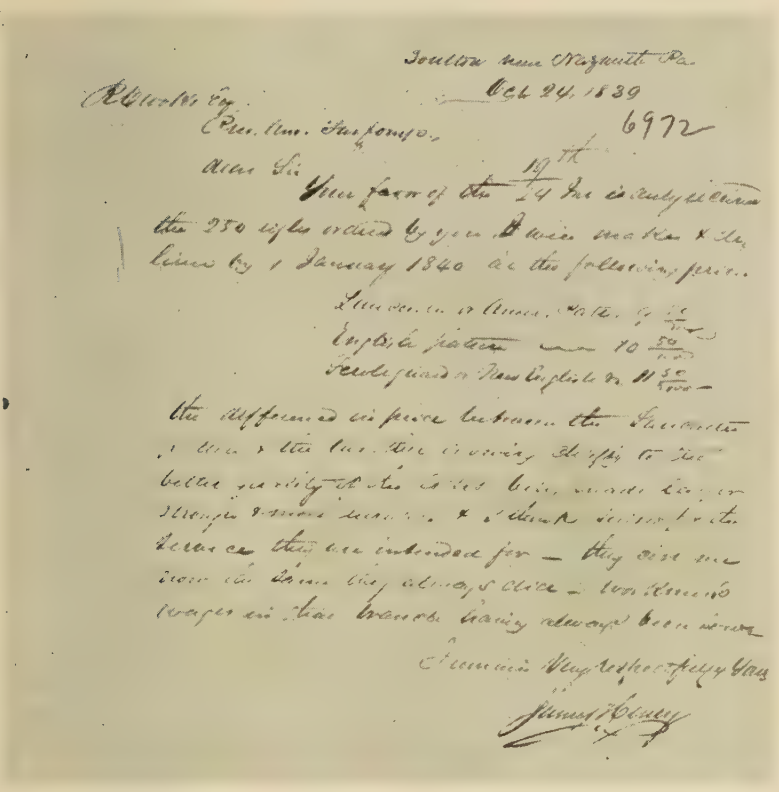
[10] German silver.

in subsequent orders. Crooks was highly enthusiastic about it, perhaps bearing in mind that Pratte,Chouteau & Co. had asked particularly for "Henry make" rifles. Samples were sent on to St. Louis, and in their next requisition the agents observed: "Henry's new English Pattern of Rifles appears so superior to the old kind, that we have not ordered any of the latter. We think that in many places they can be substituted for the American by altering the Boxes. We prefer them on account of the Brass Plates which . . . have much stronger springs."

The old "English" pattern was a heavier, clumsier rifle than the new design, with a straighter, thicker stock. This was made of black walnut, with plain brass mounting. The butt was hollow, and the turn of it, the trigger guard, and the three thimbles holding a plain hickory ramrod were octagonal in shape. Dimensions were a roller lock 6 inches long, a patch box measuring 2 3/4 by 1 1/4 inches, a trigger guard of 8 1/4 inches, and a trigger plate of 2 1/2 inches. Its barrel length and bore were the same as the Lancaster, but it was not as popular; in fact one trader to the Creek Indians reported that it could not be sold in Arkansas. Hence the Fur Company concentrated its orders to Henry on the "New English" pattern at $11.50 and on the Lancaster at $9.50, specifying the Lancaster type patch box for the former in accordance with the preference expressed by Pratte, Chouteau & Co. Particulars of the Lancaster pattern as made by Henry were as follows:

> Single trigger—Barrels of different lengths from 3 feet 6, to 3 feet 8 inches long—Balls assorted from 32 to 40 to the pound—5 inch Superior Locks. Stock of Maple or Sugar tree, stained and varnished as is customary—Silver thumbpiece—Handsome engraved Brass mounting—Hickory ramrod stained. Wiper in 2 pieces to unscrew in the middle, the socket being fastened to the end of the ramrod—Ball mould & Woollen Bag or cover for each gun, which when complete to weigh (without the cover) not less than 9½[lb] nor more than 10½[lb].

In 1835 the Boulton Gun Works received orders for 80 English and 430 Lancaster rifles, in 1836 for 50 English, 200 New English, and 50 Lancaster, and in 1837, when the Company



JAMES HENRY, GUNMAKER, TO RAMSAY CROOKS, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN FUR COMPANY, 1839

ALS, American Fur Company Papers at The New-York Historical Society

wrote "we get no rifles but of you," 125 New English and 125 Lancaster pattern, with barrels two inches shorter than before. Earlier some Lancaster rifles had been purchased by the Company from John P. Moore of New York, but his price was higher than Henry's. A business depression and a smallpox epidemic among the Indians made 1838 a poor season for the fur trade; nevertheless Crooks ordered 80 New English and 120 Lancaster from Boulton, and the following year 90 English, 100 New English, and 220 Lancaster. The year 1840 saw a reduction in calibre, from 32–40 balls to the pound to 40–45 balls to the

pound, and it was also the first occasion that any percussion arms were ordered. Besides 60 English, 100 New English and 200 Lancaster flintlocks, the Fur Company asked for a dozen percussion rifles of the Lancaster pattern, six of which were to be "fine" with silver ornamentation. For these a price of $16 was fixed, but even the ordinary percussion locks cost $11. Another oddity requested is described as a "Smooth bore Rifle, Lancaster pattern, 30 inch Barrel 32 balls to the pound, Super Flint Lock, to be well finished and to cost about $15." Prompted by this last order, the inventive James Henry wrote:

> Could you not succeed in introducing a common smooth bore rifle, made short and light with a large 6 inch lock & no box & otherwise made cheap and plain, in lieu of the N. West gun. I think they could be made for 6 50/100 or about that & would have the advantage over the shot gun, by being adapted both for shot & ball. . . . The smooth rifle in these parts as well as elsewhere in the States is superceding the shot gun, from the circumstance of being adapted to ball & shot.

Crooks did not think well of this proposal, which was in words at least a contradiction in terms, and replied: "The Smooth Bore Rifle you mention would not answer for our trade. . . . When the Indians use a Rifle, it must be a *real* one, and they will not carry a Smooth bore of such weight, so long as they can get a North West Gun."

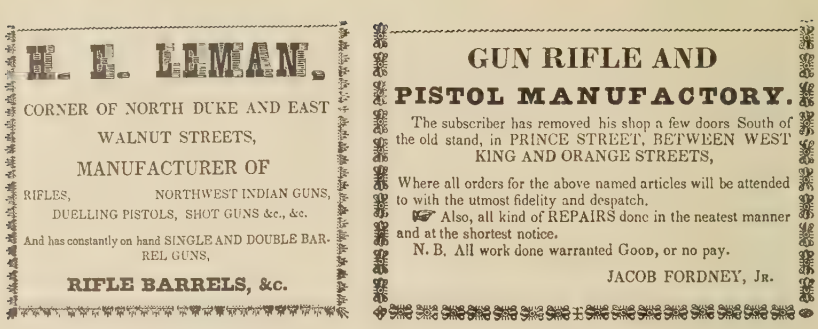
The year 1841 saw a continuation of orders for Henry rifles, 50 English, 20 New English and 130 Lancaster, and another request for 6 fine percussions, these to have bronzed barrels. In the following year 100 more flintlocks were ordered, half English and half Lancaster, and delivered shortly before the American Fur Company suspended payments to creditors on September 10, 1842. A variety of causes contributed to the failure; cutthroat competition with other traders in the Ohio Valley, the public's adoption of the silk hat in place of the beaver, a similar change in the headgear of the British Army, collapse of the market for deerskins in Germany, and the Opium War between Great Britain and China closing the latter's ports to trade in otterskins. James Henry held notes of the Fur Company for $1,676, he

having always furnished it with arms on six months' credit. The debt was never paid off in full, but over a period of five years Henry recovered about 80% in liquidation. He made no more arms for the Fur Company, thenceforth supplying Pierre Chouteau, Jr. in St. Louis direct.

Besides extending credit, Henry in his contracts with the Company had always been required to bear the cost of packing and delivering his arms to New York City. A sales price averaging only $10 per rifle[11] including a bullet mould, wipers and woollen cover left him no great margin of profit, so these costs must have been low. The arms were packed in pine board boxes, ten rifles to a case, and at first were hauled by team from Nazareth via Easton to the then terminus of the Morris and Essex Canal at Port Colden, New Jersey, a distance of about twenty-five miles. Thence they proceeded by canalboat to Jersey City, this journey taking about a week. To expedite matters shipment was often made by wagon to New Brunswick over the Easton-Somerville toll road, and thence by the steamboat *Napoleon* down the Raritan River to New York. An alternative route was by team to Bound Brook, from which point a railroad had been built to Elizabethtown and Jersey City. The haul to Bound Brook covered nearly sixty miles, with New Brunswick seven miles further, but it was accomplished in two days if the weather permitted. Winter interfered with canal transport, and sometimes the Raritan was closed by ice, so that the teams had to go on to Perth Amboy to reach the steamboat. A letter of January 30, 1836, even refers to transporting rifles "by sleds" to New York in four days. Not until 1840 did through railroad transportation become available, via Easton, Philadelphia and Trenton.

Apart from J. Joseph and James Henry, whose good workmanship and low prices eventually secured the entire custom of the American Fur Company, a number of other gunmakers as-

[11] The Indians paid the equivalent of $30 in furs for such rifles. H. M. Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York: 1935), 2 vols., II: 908.


E. E. LEMAN,
CORNER OF NORTH DUKE AND EAST
WALNUT STREETS,
MANUFACTURER OF
RIFLES, NORTHWEST INDIAN GUNS,
DUELLING PISTOLS, SHOT GUNS &c., &c.
And has constantly on hand SINGLE AND DOUBLE BARREL GUNS,
RIFLE BARRELS, &c.
GUN RIFLE AND
PISTOL MANUFACTORY.
The subscriber has removed his shop a few doors South of the old stand, in PRINCE STREET, BETWEEN WEST KING AND ORANGE STREETS,
Where all orders for the above named articles will be attended to with the utmost fidelity and despatch.
Also, all kind of REPAIRS done in the neatest manner and at the shortest notice.
N. B. All work done warranted Good, or no pay.
JACOB FORDNEY, Jr.

TRADE CARDS FROM LANCASTER (PENNSYLVANIA) DIRECTORY, 1843

pired to its patronage. Henry E. Leman[12] of Lancaster, who later supplied the Indian trade with more arms than anyone else, offered the Company rifles as well as North West guns. His overtures never progressed beyond the point of submitting two sample rifles. Other unsuccessful solicitors of business were Edward K. Tryon, of Philadelphia, and Eli Whitney, Jr., of New Haven. Their proposals were not made until 1844, when the Company was in liquidation.

Two famous American makers whose percussion arms did in fact fill special Company orders were Samuel Colt and Henry Deringer. In 1839 the former furnished three revolving arms made by the Patent Arms Manufacturing Company of Paterson, New Jersey, being a "shotgun, pocket and holster pistol." These were forwarded to David D. Mitchell, a representative of the Fur Company then at St. Louis. Henry Deringer of Philadelphia[13] made at least two sets of pistols for other agents, a pair in 1835 for Hercules L. Dousman of Prairie du Chien and another pair four years later for Joseph Rolette. Colt's revolving arms cost respectively $75, $30, and $40, the Deringer single-shot pairs were $30 each. Though ordered by the Company the arms were charged to the personal accounts of the respective consignees. Little Company business was done in short arms—a few dozen

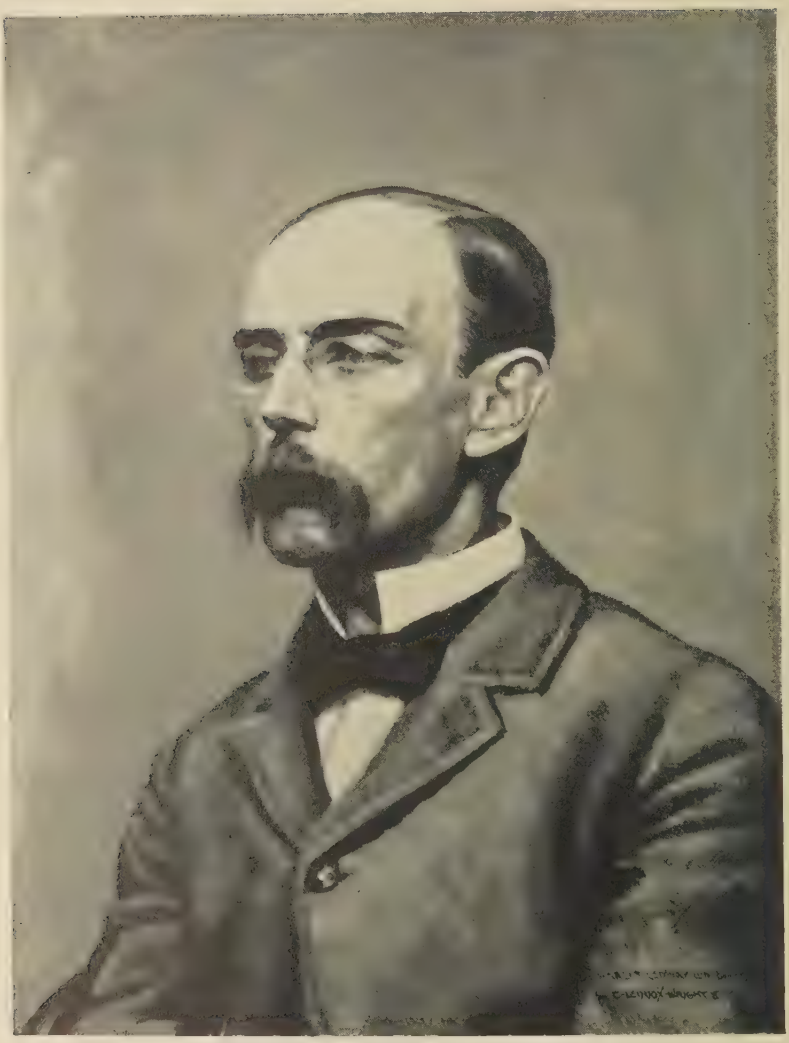
[12] See Herbert H. Beck, "Henry E. Leman, Riflemaker," *Lancaster County Historical Society Papers* (1936), XL, No. 3.

[13] See John E. Parsons, *Henry Deringer's Pocket Pistol* (New York: 1952).

brass or iron flintlock horse pistols were all that it ever required for the Indian trade.

What became of the many thousands of flintlock guns and rifles traded on the Northwest frontier is a question not easily answered. A very few examples remain in museums or private collections, but the great number have disappeared. In Indian hands a gun seldom had a long life; it was never properly cleaned or lubricated, exposure to the elements was constant and repairs were limited largely to what could be done with rawhide. Ornamentation of stocks with brass tacks was very common, so that Indian ownership can usually be detected. After the Civil War flintlocks became obsolete even among Indians, and most are believed to have been discarded rather than altered to percussion. Tribal customs of burying a warrior with his arms, and destruction of captured weapons by our military are other eliminating factors. Of 160 muzzle-loading rifles and guns given up by the Cheyennes and Sioux in 1877,[11] the largest single surrender of arms recorded in the Indian Wars, only two were fired by flint, one of these, a smoothbore, being marked "W. Chance & Son, London." All the others had percussion locks, including four listed as conversions. The far greater number were marked "H. E. Leman, Lancaster, Pa." but there were six bearing the name "J. Henry & Son." These are thought to have been originally fabricated as percussion arms and hence sold after the day of the American Fur Company.

[11] Ordnance Notes No. 115; Dillin, *op. cit.*, Plate 101; United States Cartridge Co. *Catalog Fire-Arms Collection* (Lowell, Mass.: 1904), 85, 87.



CHARLES LENNOX WRIGHT I (1852–1901)
By Charles Lennox Wright II, 1930

THE PIONEER OF ZINC ETCHING

INTRODUCTION TO THE CHARLES LENNOX WRIGHT I COLLECTION*

by CHARLES LENNOX WRIGHT II†

READERS of this *Quarterly* will be familiar with the story of pictorial reproduction by wood engraving through Mr. Joseph G. E. Hopkins' article: "Plain Talk in Pictures" in its April 1947 issue, and through the Society's 1947 exhibition of woodcut illustrations entitled, "News Artists to the American People." They will remember that many of the later wood blocks had the portraits, views, and illustrators' drawings photographed directly upon the smooth gypsum-coated surface of the boxwood's grain, ready for incising by the engraver's burin. Such woodcuts were literally photoengravings—*i.e.*, engravings (not etchings) over photographs. They are well represented by the illustrations in Arthur Mazyck's *Guide to Charleston* [*S.C.*], *being a sketch of the History of Charleston*, published in 1875. The illustrations therein are signed by "The Photo Eng[raving] Co. N.Y.," which is first listed in the 1872–73 New York City

* A gift to the Society, 1952, by the author. The Collection will be placed on exhibition (in honor of the centenary of Charles Lennox Wright I's birth, March 9, 1852) in the third-floor corridor in July. Items of the gift to be exhibited will include: photographs of the subject and his contemporaries concerned with the development of "photoengraving"; books and articles on the early history of photoengraving; tools, manuscripts, and sketches of Wright's equipment; proofs from early photo-process plates; Wright's first-etched zinc plate from an illustration, 1885; a proof of his first halftone, 1886, the "Greeley Relief Expedition of 1884"; the Leggo screen used in making it; a proof of one of Wright's 1897 three-color halftones; edition proofs for the *Century Magazine* of August, November, and December 1900, of the first three sets of four-color halftones ever made; proofs, plate, and screen of the first 400-line intaglio halftone; a unique copy of Léon Vidal's *Cours de Reproductions Industrielles* (Paris: 1879); and many other historically valuable items. The following article is in large part documented by the items in this collection.

† The author was born during a sojourn of his parents in Boston, May 28, 1876. Like his great-grandfather, Charles Cushing Wright (1796–1854), N.A., the famous New York City medallist, and his grandfather, Charles Washington Wright (1824–1869), the medal and wood engraver, he is an artist (a professional painter, listed in Fielding, in Thieme-Becker, and elsewhere). During his spare time his energies have been directed to the compilation of his family genealogy and to the preparation and documentation of a life of his father, of which a beautifully engrossed copy is in the library of this Society; he now has under way a life of his great-grandfather, the medalist.

directory as at 23 Dey Street. The name of the process—"photoengraving"—seems to have derived from that company and to have been loosely applied to later processes in which engraving, strictly speaking, had no part.

Photoengraving on wood and the somewhat later evolution of other so-called photoengraving processes were engendered by the improvements on Niepce's and Daguerre's invention of photography made by Dr. John William Draper (1811–1882) of New York University.[1] that these early attempts culminated in the now universally used "photoengraved" plates (line work, halftones, and screen photogravures) of today was largely due to the tireless study and innumerable experiments of my father, Charles Lennox Wright I (1852–1901), who in 1884–1885 in New York City made the first relief-etched metal plate of a photographically transferred subject, capable of direct printing on the fastest presses of the period, with or without accompanying type and plates, in editions up to 100,000. This achievement revolutionized pictorial reproduction in the printing field and developed into the world-wide industry now incorrectly masquerading under the misnomer, "photoengraving."

Before 1885 many of the processes in competition with wood engraving for the multiple reproduction through photographic mediation of line or wash drawings, paintings, and photographs, had proved unsuccessful, while a few had succeeded—and could succeed—only in the laboratory. Among the latter was the non-screen halftone process developed in France before 1879 by Charles Petit, which Frederick E. Ives, who claimed to have experimented with this process in Philadelphia in 1881, dubbed "beautiful but complicated"; indeed, it was difficult, impractical, reeked of the laboratory, and consequently was never used commercially. Through his 1881 experiments Ives "realized"—so he asserted thirty years later—"the theoretical possibilities [not prac-

[1] See LeRoy E. Kimball, "The Old University Building and the Society's Years on Washington Square," *NYHS Quarterly*, July 1948, 183, 215–217. An oil portrait, by the author, of Professor Draper, who was an uncle of Mrs. C. L. Wright I (Charlotte Elizabeth Gardner), the author's mother, will be shown in the centenary exhibition at the Society.

tically accomplished until after Wright's zinc-etching process of 1885 had paved the way] of using a screen" for halftone plate-making; but in this he had been anticipated by W. A. Leggo & Bro., of Canada, who, in 1871 or '72, first printed halftone pictures from lithographic stone to which the picture had been transferred from a zinc plate presumably prepared by photographing upon it through a screen of their own manufacture (—one such screen they sold to my father who made with it in 1886 his first halftone etched zinc plate.)[2] Other "photoengravers" of the period before 1885 used either the before-mentioned process of hand-engraving over photographs on boxwood which my father had done for *Frank Leslie's Weekly* as early as 1869, or one of three gelatine processes—the reticulated, the swelled, or the washout in which my father experimented, 1880–1881, for John Calvin Moss ("the best-known photoengraver [so called] in the world") who thereupon advertised either it or his substitute of a metal alloy for wood blocks as the ground for hand or mechanical engraving, as his "New Process."[3] During the period 1880–1885, therefore, the processes in common use were: lithography, photo-lithography, and wood engraving—all of which required the intervention of a third hand (the litho-draughtsman's or the engraver's) between the original artist or photographer and the printed result; collotypes, whose softness, as with woodcuts, permitted direct printing of only small editions; and the washout gelatines of which the molding and

[2] S. H. Horgan, "How Halftones Began," in the *Inland Printer*, February 1927; William T. Innes, *ibid.*, June 1927; Léon Vidal, *Cours de Reproductions Industrielles* (Paris: 1879); see also the pictorial reproductions in the illustrated weeklies of the period.

[3] *Dictionary of American Biography*, "Moss, John Calvin"; N.Y.C. Directories, 1880 and later. The *DAB* article is terminologically misleading. Moss's "New Process" may have been no more than an extension to metal of the then-current process of engraving over photographs on wood. Instead of electrotyping the wood engravings as formerly, Moss or someone hit upon the idea of photographing and hand-engraving directly on the type-metal and, to spare the muscular effort of the engraver in lining or cross-hatching areas to obtain the effect of tone for skies, backgrounds, walls, etc., the further idea of employing the already-available ruling machine for that purpose. But this was in no sense an anticipation of the zinc etching process which pioneered all modern so-called photoengraving processes; and when Wright had perfected the latter, Moss's "New Process" became obsolete.

electrotyping required for edition runs inevitably produced delays, expense, and deterioration in quality.

By this time the development of huge editions in many branches of printing, of an expectation that illustrations would be ample in number, timely, and faithful, and consequently of a need for accurate, speedy and inexpensive reproductions, had created a demand which the available processes could not adequately meet. What was urgently needed, but involved problems which no one had as yet been able to solve, was a reliable process by which the subject to be reproduced could be photographically transferred to, and chemically etched upon, a metal plate capable of direct printing on fast typographic presses in large quantities. It was this problem of which Charles Lennox Wright I was the first to find a practical solution.

His first zinc etchings of 1884 and 1885 were the realization of a new and simple process of reproduction through photographic negatives printed directly upon metal plates which, when etched, were printable with type on fast presses. Previous to that time, and despite the search by many theorists, inventors, and patentees both here and abroad, relief plates etched in zinc and later in copper, such as are now used the world over under the erroneous designation of "photoengravings," had never been made. C. L. Wright I, alone and unaided, made the first such plates in 1884 from small outline drawings of chinaware and in the summer of 1885 the first such plate from an illustration (drawn by Ben Day). These first zinc etchings were made in Wright's home, East 86th Street, New York City, and this writer eye-witnessed them being made by him. This achievement soon replaced the older processes for most publication purposes, and especially wood engraving which had attained a high excellence under the patronage of *Harper's*, *Scribner's* and the *Century Magazine* in New York City.

At first, the impact of Wright's etched relief zinc plates did not deprive the more capable wood engravers of any but that share of pictorial work which had been drawn with pen (or other point) and ink, without tones of any sort. A year after Wright's

C. L. WRIGHT'S FIRST HALFTONE PLATE, 1886

Etched on zinc from an illustration of the Greely Relief Expedition of 1884. This trial proof was made by Wright who discarded the process as inferior.

Gift of C. L. Wright II, 1952

innovation of zinc-etching line plates, which were durable for upwards of 100,000 impressions without the intervention of electrotyping, came the announcement of Frederick E. Ives's success in making a few halftone plates etched on zinc by Wright's method. These early attempts by Ives were duplicated by Wright at about the same time but were discarded by him as lacking in quality. They did not present a serious threat to the wood engravers who were occupied with cutting nearly all illustrations made from wash, watercolor, or oil paintings and photographs.[4] In fact the wood engravers did not become alarmed until 1891–2 when this same pioneer, C. L. Wright, extended his zinc-etching

[4] See *Harper's* and *Century*, 1880–1890.

process into its halftone variation etched in relief on copper plates.

As may be seen in the *Century Magazine* of the era, the first reaction of the wood-engraving craft at the top level was to compete with Wright's halftones by cutting their lines so finely and so closely together that their results paralleled the invisibility of halftone lines and dots at 175 to 200 to the inch. In this apparently concerted effort Timothy Cole's engravings of the Italian Old Masters Series[5] in the *Century* seem to be the apex. Several of the engravers who essayed this means found it too costly to eyesight and in time. Others could not compete at all on this basis. Very soon all but Timothy Cole gave up. He had swung to a different technique. By the use of the white line in varying degrees of boldness and fineness, the great variety of movements in the line and the use of many designs of picks, he, and he alone, rose to heights above any attained by other wood engravers (with whose work this writer is acquainted) anywhere. He carried wood engraving to a fine art, not of reproduction but of interpretation, in his several series of Old Masters. He was encouraged in this by Mr. A. W. Drake, Art Director of the *Century Magazine*, himself an early wood engraver.

Mr. Drake and the Century Company were also enthusiastic supporters and consistent patrons of Wright's new zinc-etching and copper-halftone processes. At the same time they magnanimously continued to foster and assuage their former wood engravers—Merrill, Chadwick, Tinkey, State, Davidson, and others —by occasionally giving them halftone plates on which to lighten skies, white walls, sunlit spaces, and highlights, by "tooling." Johnson, Avery, and a few others retired, but Henry ("Harry") Davidson "stole a march" over his fellow craftsmen by arranging with Wright to do "retouching" work in the latter's plant. He learned from Wright how to burnish copper halftones, how to re-etch them locally, and also was granted proofing facilities for his trial proofs.

[5] *The Century Magazine*, vols. XLIII and XLIV, but particularly the January 1892 number.

At about this time Davidson urged his stick-at-it confreres to request of A. W. Drake the courtesy of a legend ("Engraved by" so and so) to be placed under such halftones as they had retouched. While this credit was technically accurate, it was very misleading to the public who had come to regard these relief etchings as "engravings" or "photoengravings" (as they are still erroneously designated) and so thought the engraver named in the legend had made the plates which, if not made by Wright himself, had been made by Wright's process.

C. L. Wright was born in 1852 at New York in the neighborhood of Grand Street, then a residential section. He received his education at No. 4 Primary School on Chrystie Street near Delancey, and later in Chelsea Village, when his parents had removed to that locality. At the age of sixteen he was already studying the art of drawing upon the gypsum-coated wood blocks with pencil and wash, as was the custom of illustrators including even the great Gustave Doré. A year later, 1869, his father, Charles Washington Wright, who had been a medal engraver and later a wood engraver for *Harper's* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, died from illness and wounds received in the Mexican and Civil Wars. The full support of his mother necessitated a more remunerative occupation. Frank Leslie offered him an opportunity to learn "wet-plate" photography in his studio "Gallery." There portraits of celebrities and reductions and enlargements to be traced or copied by artists on wood were made. Shortly thereafter photographing directly upon the wood blocks was employed by "the Pioneer" for *Leslie's Weekly*.

In six months young Wright had become so proficient at photography that Frank Leslie placed him in charge of the department. About two years later, due to interference with the routine and schedules of work by Leslie's sons, Wright resigned. This was an unfortunate time. The post-Civil War decline and unemployment, which was to endure for a score of years, had already begun. However, he soon became associated with Edward Bierstadt, a printer at 932 Broadway and at 58 Reade Street, New York. From 1870 to 1874 Bierstadt had been interested in de-

PHOTO-GELATINE OF THE CENTRAL PARK FOUNTAIN OF BETHESDA, 1873

Made by C. L. Wright I from his own photograph, 1873
One of two extant prints, both at The New-York Historical Society

Gift of C. L. Wright II, 1952

veloping the photo-gelatine, or reticulated gelatine, process and had been printing editions by it. This beautiful process, called collotype in England, originated in France, where it was known as photoglyptie.[6] It could be used, however, only for limited editions. A number of examples of Wright's work from this period are in the Charles Lennox Wright I Collection at the Society.

In 1873, under the administration of Frederick Law Olmstead, Architect-in-Chief of Central Park, Emma Stebbins' "Fountain of Bethesda" (*John:* V, 2–4) was erected in the Esplanade at the north end of the Mall. With a covered truck for his darkroom, Wright succeeded early one Sunday morning in making a 14″ x 17″ wet-plate negative of this new monument. The feat being surreptitious, he hurried to transfer the nitrate of silver from the

[6] Léon Vidal, *Cours de Reproductions Industrielles* (Paris: 1879).

"bath" back to its wicker-covered "john" container. The large, heavy, unmanageable glass bath slipped from his grasp, breaking on the pavement of the Terrace, and the nitrate flowed down the Spanish stone stairway. Knowing that the liquid would soon turn black in the sunlight, Wright bundled his paraphernalia into the van and was driven hastily away. The only two prints extant of the "gelatine" made from this negative are now at the Society.

By a curiously fortuitous chain of circumstances Wright had passed through a sequence of study, trial, and experiment in the practical application of: (1) wood-engraving photography (1869–70), (2) photo-gelatine process (1870–74), (3) photo-lithographic reproductions of large-sized fine-art copperplate engravings (1875–78), (4) portrait photography, drawing, and oil-painting (1879–80), (5) washout gelatine process (1880–81), (6) Bonnaud-type colored photographs (1882–83), and (7) the making and etching of "French Grain Process" plates of copper (1883–84). Not one of his precursors or followers, known to me, had, or have had, such complete experience in the field.

At this juncture, he found that the culmination of his fifteen years of research, endless tests, proving theories by practice, trial and retrial, was the need of a protector for the relief image of lines and dots to enable him to etch it into zinc. This he found in "Dragon's Blood"—a resin derived from a number of plants, chiefly, the Dracoena Draco of the Canary Islands and Calamus Draco, an East Indian palm. Once regarded as a valuable medicine, it was later employed for lacquers, varnish, Chinese writing papers, and dentifrices! The properties and propensities of Dragon's Blood he discovered and examined thoroughly in 1883–1884 during two seasons with McLoughlin Brothers. Thus, not by design, but by necessity forged, his seventh experience (with the French Grain Process) became the last link connecting his chain of endeavors, bringing him to successful accomplishment. Retrospectively, he virtually had had his future zinc-etching process within his grasp as early as 1875[7] through his

[7] In September of that year (1875), he married my mother (née Charlotte Eliza-

use at that time of a weak acid wash to improve his zinc photo-lithographic transfer plates, except that he had not yet found a proper protection for the sides of lines and dots from erosion by the stronger mordant required to etch his later relief zinc plates to a printable depth.

Lacking a patron and having a family to support, Wright could devote only a portion of his time to experimenting and that at night, and on Sundays and holidays. By 1884 he had sufficient resources to begin his final essays at etching line-images on zinc. In our home on East 86th Street, the bathroom was converted into a part-time darkroom. His camera was set up in the parlor where his subjects could be lighted by the steady light from the north windows. He made his prints on zinc in an ordinary photo-print frame set in the sun on the fire-escape. He rolled them up on the kitchen table, melted the Dragon's Blood in the bake-oven, and etched his first plates in a small tank which he built, ironing the beeswax lining with his wife's flatiron. The exotic aromatic odor of the melting Dragon's Blood is still in my nostrils.

Wright's first commercially successful plates were made and sold in the winter and spring of 1884–1885. They were very small, simple outline drawings of china and glassware which were used in the fall trade catalogues of merchants in this line for whom he had made Albertypes ten or twelve years previously. I was, at eight, his first errand boy and bill-collector.

A wood engraver, Mr. Charles Butt, for whom Wright had made photographs directly on the wood blocks at 17 Ann Street, had his studio with a hand-proofing press at 48 Beekman Street at this time. He kindly permitted Wright to proof his early plates there. The routing and blocking were done next door by Johnson and Peterson, makers of boxwood blocks and routers to wood engravers. Later on Peterson became one of Wright's most useful, trustworthy, and steady employees.

beth Gardner), niece to Dr. John William Draper who died in 1882 but whom I remember well. Further details of my father's life and work are set forth in my manuscript monograph, "C. L. Wright I, the Pioneer of Zinc Etching" in the library of this Society.

THE FIRST ZINC ETCHING ILLUSTRATION EVER MADE, SUMMER 1885

A flat frisked proof of the original pioneer plate at the Society
Made by C. L. Wright I from Ben Day's drawing made for that purpose.
This is the forerunner of all later "photoengravings."

Gift of C. L. Wright II, 1952

No. 48 Beekman, formerly a residence of brick construction, was owned and partly occupied by Benjamin Day, son of Benjamin Henry Day, founder and once owner of *The New York Sun*. Ben Day was an artist. He had invented and patented the Ben Day Shading Films, a device for shading line illustrations, which has since converted his name into a verb in the publishing world. He was an enthusiast with an eye to the future. Having met Wright at Mr. Butt's studio, and having heard of his new, direct process and its adaptability to fast typographic printing without any intervening electrotypes or lithographic transfers to stone, Ben Day suggested that he make a drawing, shading it by his films, for Wright to etch in zinc; this was successfully done in our home in the early summer of 1885. This plate was the first zinc line-etching ever made from an illustration (other than the catalogue cuts before mentioned) and the pioneer of all later-called "photoengraving."

When Day saw the proofs and plate from his drawing, his imagination was greatly stirred. He suggested that Wright try to interest *The New York Daily Graphic*. This paper had had a number of earlier and unprofitable experiences with other "inventors," but they suggested that Wright make a zinc etching of the forthcoming "Flood Rock Explosion" in Hell Gate and have it in their hands within twenty-four hours. Said they, "We are a Daily!" Wright never refused to accept a challenge. With the aid of a Ben Day Film drawing he made the plate and delivered it with a hand-dabbed and rubbed proof in the small hours of Sunday morning. He had photographed the explosion at about 11 A.M. Saturday, October 10, 1885. Unfortunately the *Graphic's* staff, all of whom were astounded, were not prepared to print the plate. They had no blocking wood of the correct thickness (their blocks, used for electrotypes, being one-forth inch too thin) and they could not procure any early Sunday. So the "Explosion beat" went to press minus the Wright zinc etching.

A silver lining followed this disappointment. Ben Day offered Wright his studio and photo-darkroom, and the entire third floor, with all necessary equipment, materials, chemicals, and finances to start a new business, for a half-interest partnership therein. Wright countered with the idea of a stock company, offering Day 48% of the capital stock. Day accepted with alacrity. He also gave an order to make 6″ x 8″ zinc plates of all of his film patterns to print in a catalogue for promotion of his film business.

With the phenomenally ready acceptance of Wright's new zinc-etching process and the rapid spread of its use by publishers of all ranks throughout our land and Europe, there loomed, in the near future, the extinction of all slower, more complicated, and less durable forms of hand-engraving, hand-litho drawing, and even photo-lithography, though not chromolithography or artists' original hand-etchings. As a counterbalance, the new process liberated the cramped and pent-up creative powers of all illustrators. It brought into being a whole school of pen-and-point draughtsmen, typified by such brilliant artists as E. A.

THE FIRST FOUR-COLOR HALFTONE EVER MADE, 1900

Made by C. L. Wright I, color separations by his son, the author, from a water-color by E. Potthast of "The New York Aquarium, Formerly Castle Garden"; one of nine four-color halftone plates made by Wright to illustrate "Treasures of the New York Aquarium" by Charles L. Bristol, Professor of Biology, New York University, in the *Century Magazine*, August 1900—all at The New-York Historical Society.

Gift of C. L. Wright II, 1952

Abbey, Alfred Brennan, Joseph Pennell, who was a life-long acquaintance and supporter of Wright, A. W. Kemble, A. B. Frost, W. Hamilton Gibson, Alfred Parsons, Charles Dana Gibson, Penrhyn Stanslavs, and a host of others. The pages of the important American periodicals from 1885 to 1893 abundantly demonstrate this expansion of freedom of expression through countless techniques. With the advent in 1892 of Wright's superior relief halftones etched on copper, artists and publishers were, and thenceforth have been, assured of facsimile reproductions of any drawing, painting, print, or photograph in monotone whatever its nature. No longer was it necessary for any artist to limit himself to the constraint imposed by set methods of reproduction. Nor did he have to see his work interpreted through the mind or lesser ability of others.

Wright also pioneered in the production of the first four-color halftone etched copperplates. Made in the spring of 1900, they appeared in the August number of the *Century* of that year. They were of watercolor drawings of fish by James C. Beard with some views by E. Potthast for "Wonders of the New York Aquarium." These, followed by a number of four-color halftones reproducing works from the brushes of Harry Fenn, Hendrick Christian Anderson, F. V. DuMond, Maxfield Parrish, Jules Guerin, the two Leyendeckers, Robert Blum, Albert Herter, Charles R. Knight, Violet Oakley, Howard Pyle, Anna Whelan Betts, William M. Chase, and others, touched off the dissemination of four-color halftone reproduction that so profusely illuminates the modern printed pages of every sort of publication and has yet to reach its peak.

Charles Lennox Wright died at the early age of forty-nine. At the expense of his health he had devoted his entire energy and professional life toward the goal of perfecting methods of reproduction. He had never patented any of his formulae or devices, and was regarded, therefore, as a "man of mystery" and "secretive." No abstract inventor or theoretician and no exploiter of other men's work or self-advertiser of his own, Wright preferred to let his results speak for him.

His pioneer work in summary was as follows: 1869–70—experimented for Frank Leslie with photographing onto the wood block as a guide to the engraver; 1871–75—made fine collotypes for Bierstadt; 1875–78—made with his improved zinc transfer plates the best photo-lithographs of fine-art copper engravings then being made; 1880–81—experimented with wash-out gelatines for J. C. Moss; 1884–85—pioneered with the first relief zinc etching of a photograpically transferred subject ever made; 1886—etched his first halftone on zinc; 1891–92—made the first superior copper etched halftones capable of successful competition with the best of the woodcuts;[8] 1897—experimented with three-

[8] See the results in, for instance, *The Century Magazine*, from September 1892, p. 601, to December 1905. These have never, in the author's opinion, been surpassed in quality.

color halftone plates—a process which he discarded;[9] 1900—made the first of all four-color halftones;[10] owned the first 400-line screen ever made[11] and through it made the first 400-line-screen halftones and 400-line-screen intaglio etched copperplates (photogravures) for hand-printing.[12] All of the present-day processes miscalled "photoengraving" (relief halftones and line cuts and screen photo- or rotogravures, and all halftone color plates) are but variations of Wright's original zinc etching of 1885 and came into being because of it.

Examples of most of the various processes touched upon in this brief outline have been presented to The New-York Historical Society, together with an engrossed copy of the author's detailed manuscript, "C. L. Wright I, the Pioneer of Zinc Etching," Wright's first metal relief plate, proofs of his other history-making plates, and various memorabilia of his contribution to modern reproductive processes. There they will be exhibited in commemoration of this centenary of their creator's birth (1852–1952) and will be preserved and made available for the use of students.

Without doubt this development, on which our illustrated dailies and periodicals, picture magazines, and books, so much depend, has exerted a greater influence on the shape of our recent history and contributed more to our cultural advancement than many of the political events which loom so large in the history books. Charles Lennox Wright I, whose pioneer work and crucial achievements contributed so mightily to our means of printed communication, may now at last be given his due.

[9] The manufacture of three-color halftone plates for letterpress printing originated, I believe, in Chicago and the Tri-Color Company was one of the, if not the, first to make them. The "first [so called] three-colour blocks" of 1881, credited by the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.) to F. E. Ives at Philadelphia, seem to have been an impractical application of the impractical non-screen process developed by Charles Petit in France before 1879.—See Vidal, *op., cit.*

[10] I had suggested the idea to him upon my return from abroad in 1898 and worked on the first, second, and third sets for him from April to October, 1900. See *The Century Magazine*, August 1900, and subsequent issues to July 1905 ("Meeting of the Ways" and "Chateaux of Touraine").

[11] This screen may be seen in the July exhibition at the Society.

[12] Proofs of this process may also be seen at the Society.

THE FORDHAM "RYOTT" OF JULY 16, 1688

by HARRY C. W. MELICK*

DURING Colonial days in America boundary disputes were common. Not only did these controversies rage between individuals, but even towns and provinces were participants in them. While some of them were inevitable—usually the outgrowth of faulty or indefinite descriptions in deeds or patents or of conflicting original grants—many were initiated by self-interest and based upon a distorted interpretation of some document. Most of these matters found their way into the courts but some only after the disputants had first resorted to violence to accomplish their ends. This was true of the dispute between the Town of Westchester and the Dutch Reformed Church of New York over the manor lands at Fordham.

For a proper understanding of that dispute a brief recital of the pertinent facts is necessary. In 1669, John Archer purchased from the Indian proprietors certain land between the Bronx and Harlem Rivers and at Spuyten Duyvil and, two years later, Governor Francis Lovelace confirmed this purchase and issued a Royal Patent in which the land was incorporated into the Manor of Fordham with Archer as its Lord Proprietor.[1] Archer died in 1684, leaving his manor land heavily mortgaged and, by bequest of the mortgagee, his title passed in trust to the Elders and Overseers of the Nether Dutch Reformed Church of New York,[2] who, on September 16, 1685, made record that:

> We, the undersigned, present Elders of the Dutch Reformed Congregation in New York, for and in the name of the said Congregation, hereby thankfully accept the Legacy herein mentioned. But as the Manor

* Mr. Melick, a former contributor to this *Quarterly*, is the author of *The Sale of Food and Drink at Common Law and under the Uniform Sales Act* (New York: 1936) and *The Manor of Fordham and Its Founder* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1950) which is reviewed in this issue.

[1] Melick, *The Manor of Fordham and Its Founder*, 60–61, 69–72.

[2] *Ibid.*, 104, 111–113.

PHILIP WELLES' SURVEY MAP OF THE MANOR OF FORDHAM, 1684

Archives of the Collegiate Dutch Church of the City of New York (Photo.: NYHS)

therein bestowed, has, since the testator's death, been claimed by that of Westchester and is further encumbered by the same with a certain process, disputing the testator's right to the same, and we are not at all in a situation properly to defend it: We therefore request the Juffrow [Steenwyck], being the lawful Executrix of the last will [of the mortgagee to whom title had come], and therefore the fittest person to maintain his right, will undertake to clear the Manor of the said claims, and put an end to the process, when the offered conveyance shall be thankfully accepted, and all costs reimbursed.[3]

[3] *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, II (1901), 890.

Shortly after Archer's death "trespassers" from Westchester invaded the manor lands at Fordham, the Town claiming title thereto by virtue of a patent issued by Governor Richard Nicolls on February 15, 1667, to John Quinby, John Ferris, Nicholas Bayley, William Betts and Edward Waters, "for & on y^e^ behalfe of themselves & their Associates [,] the ffreehold^rs^ & Inhabitants of y^e^ said Towne" of Westchester. This document describes the area covered thereby as follows:

> That tract of land together with the several parcels not otherwise by patent disposed of, which already have or hereafter shall be purchased or procured for or on behalf of ye said town[,] whether from the native Indian proprietors, or others, within the bounds hereinafter set forth and expressed (viz.), that is to say, ye western bounds of ye lands lying within ye limits of ye said town, beginning at the western part of the lands commonly called Bronck's land, near or adjoining the Harlem River, from whence they extend eastward to the west part of a certain neck of land, commonly called Ann-hook's neck or Mr. Pell's purchase.[4]

It will be observed that Nicoll's grant was conditioned on the land being purchased or procured, on behalf of the Town, "from the native Indian proprietors or others." This was what the lawyers called a condition precedent, *i.e.*, a condition which had to be fulfilled before title to the lands granted became effective. In other words the Town was given a right to extend its limits within the bounds set forth in the patent providing it first purchased or procured the land described. But no record has been found that the Town satisfied the condition in any part before May 27, 1692, when it purchased land from the Indians lying on the "east side of Brunxe's River."[5] As the manor land lay west of this river and as Governor Lovelace had issued a patent therefor to Archer in 1671, the merits of the dispute between the Town and the Church, in the absence of other evidence, seems obvious. The Trustees of the Town of Westchester, however, apparently ignoring the above-cited precedent, construed

[4] Seymann, *Colonial Charters Patents and Grants to the Communities Comprising the City of New York* (New York: 1939), 387–388.

[5] Bolton, *History of Westchester County* (3d ed.), II: 291.

Nicoll's patent as fixing the Town's boundary at the Harlem River, and, as a result, laid claim to the manor lands at Fordham.

Juffrow Steenwyck and (after her marriage on October 20, 1686, to the Dutch minister) Dominie Selyns, her second husband, whom the Church elders had commissioned to overthrow the Westchester claim, having failed in their purpose, Nicholas Bayard, attorney for the Church, in May 1688, conferred with a delegation of trustees from the Town, in an attempt to settle the dispute by arbitration.[6] Unable to reach agreement with Bayard on the selection of arbiters, the Town's trustees seem to have arrived at the conclusion "that possession was the strongest tenure of the law," for shortly thereafter they ordered Edward Waters and the notorious Richard Ponton to proceed to Fordham and there take possession of the premises in the name of the Town. Proceeding as directed, Waters and Ponton went to Fordham and there, by forcible entry, ejected Aert Pieterse Buys and Reyer Michelsen from the houses they had been occupying for many years, and installed in their place Roger Barton and his son Elijah, with directions to keep possession "for & in behalfe of the Towne of Westchester."[7]

As was to be expected, action of this kind was not to go unchallenged by the Church. Upon hearing of the affair, Bayard resolved upon prompt steps to rectify the situation. So, with a group of sympathetic friends, he journeyed to Fordham and there, on July 16, 1688, proceeded to oust the Bartons from the houses they were occupying upon behalf of Westchester.[8]

Now it seems that Bayard's action was promptly communi-

[6] Melick, *op. cit.*, 111–113 and sources there cited.

[7] Ms. memorandum of Nicholas Bayard to Samuel Winder, November 18, 1688, at the Collegiate Church, City of New York; Westchester County Deeds, Copy *Liber* A, 269.

[8] Westchester County Deeds, Copy *Liber* A, 267–270. The following are recorded as participating with Nicholas Bayard in this exploit: Nicholas Stephenson, Teunis De Key, Johannes Kipp, Isaac Van Vleeck, Michiel Bastiaens, his wife and sons Bastiaens and Reyer Michiels, Hendrick Kiersen and wife, Jacques Tourneur and Hannah (or Ann) Odell, wife of John Odell (*ibid.*, 270). Teunis De Key was a swordsman and apparently accompanied the party as a sort of insurance in the event the party encountered the Town's sword-wielding Ponton.

cated to some of the Town's trustees, for, shortly after the eviction of the Bartons, they ordered Edward Hubbard to Elijah Barton's house with instructions to maintain possession thereof on behalf of the Town. Arriving at Fordham while Barton and his party were still on the scene, Hubbard endeavored to carry out his instructions, but without success, meeting rough treatment in his attempt.[9]

The Town's representatives thereupon resorted to legal action against the agents of the Church, filing a complaint of riot and forced entry with officers of the Westchester County Court of Sessions. Accordingly, on the day following the disturbance, Justice John Palmer, a member of that Court, took in chambers a number of depositions from the Bartons, Hubbard, and other witnesses to what occurred the preceding day at Fordham. From these depositions we learn that Roger Barton, Sr., then about sixty years of age, "was at the house of Elisha Barton" on the afternoon of July 16, 1688, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, "to keepe possession in for & in behalfe of the Towne of Westchester" when "there came a great company of men with Nicholas Bayard of New York" who assaulted him and broke "open the doore of the house" and hauled him out; moreover, that "one of the company cryed kick him on the breach & others cryed disarme him [he had a pitchfork] and send him away"; that later, "as he was going homwards[,] there came one of the company with a swaord & would not let him pass alonge the highway but with force & armes did turne him back againe," as a result of which he "was forced to take another way through the woods for feare of being waylaid againe."[10]

[9] *Ibid.*, 270.

[10] *Ibid.*, 269. This Roger Barton executed a deed on June 28, 1688 (shortly before the affair of July 16th) in which he disposed of all his property, both real and personal, conveying parcels of land to his sons Elisha, Elijah, and Roger, and to his wife Mary, with a contingent interest in his sons Noah, Enoch, and Joseph Barton (*ibid.*, 271-272). According to this instrument it appears that the Town of Westchester gave Elisha a lot (presumably the one at Fordham in which his father had been installed by the Town) and this would seem to account for his presence at that place.

The above testimony was supplemented by that of Hendrick Verveelen, grandson of Johannes, ferry-master at Fordham, a young man of approximately twenty years, whose youthful curiosity evidently led him to the place of disturbance. While confirming what Roger Barton, Sr., had to say as to what transpired at his house, he adds a few interesting details, namely: that Nicolas Stevenson tried to force the door with a "great pole" taken from "the fence" but was unsuccessful; that Teunis De Key then came up to Stevenson and "tooke the pole out of his hand & went to Nicholas Bayard and asked libertie of him" to break open the door; that Bayard acquiesced and De Key "with force & armes did breake open the door[,]" whereupon, Barton "with all his might shutt ye doore againe"; that Johannes Kipp then broke it open and, with the help of De Key, hauled Barton out, at which time "some of the Company cryed out kick him, kick him and also cryed disarme him, disarme him."[11]

Corroboration for part of Verveelen's testimony is found in the deposition of Jacob Valentine, son of Valentine Claessen, another resident of Fordham, who said he saw Johannes Kipp enter the house, "haul out Roger Barton" and take "his pitchfork from him and bad him begone."[12]

This ended the testimony concerning the ousting of Roger Barton. It was followed by the depositions of Elisha Barton and Andrew Davis as to what occurred at the house occupied by Elisha. The latter, then about twenty years of age, asserted that Michiel and De Key broke open the door "which was fast locked" and "with force and armes did enter" and turn him and Andrew Davis out; that the door, on being broken in, "flew open & hitt" him "on ye left eye & hurt him very sevre"; and that afterwards Michiel and De Key "locked the doore on ye inside and crept out of the window." To the same effect was the deposition of Andrew Davis.[13]

[11] Westchester County Deeds, Copy *Liber* A, 269.
[12] *Ibid.*, 270.
[13] *Ibid.*, 268.

The above testimony was supplemented by the depositions of Edward Hubbard, Robert Hudson, and Thomas Statham, who arrived on the scene some hours after the evictions of the Bartons occurred. From Hubbard's deposition it appears he was about forty-five years of age and that "he was sent by some of the Trustees of the Towne of Westchester" to inquire into the trouble "at Elijah Bartons house" with instructions to keep possession thereof on behalf of the Town; that upon coming to the house he "found no doore thereon & several pallasadoes" broken "from the side of the house" but no one around. That "about halfe an hour" later "there came a great company of men with Nicholas Bayard" to the house and Bayard asked him "what doe you here" and he "replyed that he was keepeing possession for & in behalfe of the Town of Westchester, whereupon the said Bayard bid him be gone or else he would set him goeing"; that "the company" then "fell upon him & held him by the haire of the head & the shoulders & kicked him" and Teunis De Key "drew his sword at him[.]"[14]

Substantial support for Hubbard's statement is found in the depositions of Thomas Statham and Robert Hudson.[15] These witnesses alleged they were on the way to Valentine Claessen's[16] house when they heard a great noise and, proceeding in its direction, came to the house where Aert Petersen [Buys] formerly lived. There they found Nicholas Bayard of New York with "a great company of men," "some" of whom were "kicking and abusing" Hubbard and pulling and hauling him out of the yard on to the street. Thereupon Statham inquired: "what is here to do"; are you "killing or murdering" a man? Whereupon Bayard asked if that was Statham speaking and, being informed that it

[14] *Ibid.*, 270.

[15] *Ibid.*, 267–268. At the time these depositions were made, Thomas Statham was about forty-seven years of age and Robert Hudson forty-eight.

[16] The record cited gives the name as Valentine Clawson. This, however, is an error. Valentine Claessen was then residing at Fordham and there was no Clawson in that town. At one time Valentine Claessen was a magistrate at Fordham. He is the founder of the Valentine family of Westchester, his sons taking the patronymic Valentine. It was his son Jacob whose deposition is heretofore referred to.—Riker, *Revised History of Harlem* (New York: 1904), 277, 306.

was, told him to go about his business. Expressing an unwillingness to do so, because he was on the King's Highway, Statham was asked by Bayard whose land it was and he said: "Westchester for ought he knew and part of it his owne by vertue of his purchase[.]"[17] Thereupon Bayard threatened him and "gave him quarrelus language and said it should be worse for him & yt he was a deceitful fellow & hat better beene at home about his business[.]"[18]

Upon obtaining the foregoing depositions, John Palmer and his colleague William Richardson,[19] being Justices of the Peace and therefore members of the Court of Sessions of the County of Westchester, "in committee for the County" issued a warrant, July 20, 1688, in which Benjamin Collier, High Sheriff of the County, was directed to arrest Nicholas Bayard and those participating with him in the exploit of July 16th, should they, or any of them, be found within his bailiwick, and to bring them before said Justices so that they could be proceeded against as provided for by law.[20] In due course the Sheriff succeeded in taking some of the persons into custody, who, upon being bound over (presumably to appear at the next Court of Sessions in mid-November), were released.[21] Thereafter a *venire facias* was

[17] The purchase referred to by Statham was made November 20, 1678, at which time he obtained from John Archer 103 acres at Fordham on the "little plaine by the Bronx River" and Roger Barton, Sr., heretofore referred to, 102 acres on the "great plaine." However, both Statham and Barton appear not to have paid cash for the land, but, instead, to have given bonds to assure payment of the purchase price. Both being in default on their respective bonds, the Dutch Church, in October 1688, authorized the institution of litigation against Statham and Barton for the collection of the arrearages due.—Melick, *op. cit.*, 113–115.

[18] Westchester County Deeds, Copy *Liber* A, 268.

[19] Both Palmer and Richardson, besides having places on the Sessions bench of Westchester County, had served as representatives from that County in the first General Assembly of the Province, and Palmer had been commissioned to sit with his namesake, Judge John Palmer, on the bench of the Provincial Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery in that County. Neither Justice Palmer or Richardson was deterred from sitting in the matter at hand by the fact that their town was a party in interest, feeling perhaps that, since the Town was determined to get the land at Fordham, "the end justified the means."

[20] Westchester County Deeds, Copy *Liber* A, 266–267.

[21] *Ibid.*, 274. The persons apprehended appear to have been Reyer Michiels and Hendrick Kiersen.

directed to the Sheriff "to impanell 24 good men" to examine "the evidence" for the King and, if warranted, to hand down indictments against the accused.

The requisite number of men being summoned by the Sheriff, they were sworn in as a grand jury, July 31, 1688.[22] The same day, the evidence submitted by complainants, consisting of the depositions, warrants, and other legal papers, was examined and a charge of "Ryott & force entry" given the jury by the court. An adjournment of two hours was then had after which the jury returned an indictment finding "the cause yt was brought before them to be a ryott & force entry" made by Reyer Michiels, Hendrick Kiersen and others "upon the houses of Elijah Barton, Roger Barton and Edward Hubbard." Thereupon, the Justices ordered the papers to be entered upon the record, presumptively pending prosecution at the ensuing mid-November term of Sessions, and issued a writ directing the Sheriff meanwhile "to putt said complainants into their quiett possessions againe, from which by force they have bene expelled."[23]

A petition to the Governor in Council made five days earlier by Henricus Selyns, the Dutch minister, "that he may be maintained in quiet possession of the manor of Fordham, against the town of Westchester," had proved ineffectual to stay these proceedings.[24] For that reason, as the time of trial drew near, "the Consistory of New York," on October 30th, "requested Domine

[22] *Ibid.*, 265, 274. Whether or not because the Sheriff intentionally selected jurymen without Dutch Church leanings or because the County's inhabitants were predominantly of English origin, the grand jury as sworn was decidedly English in personnel. However, it is extremely doubtful that this affected the result, as it is difficult to believe that any jury could, at that time and under the circumstances disclosed, have failed to present a true bill. The members of the jury were John Drake, Samuel Gawden, Richard Snite, Moses Hoyte, Sr., Ebenezer Jones, Thomas Sherwood, Thomas Pinckney, Robert Bloomer, Sr., James Mott, Henry Disbrow, Sr., John Nelson, Stephen Sherwood, Sr., Hackaliah Browne, Timothy Knapp, John Frost, John Miller, Sr., Cornelius Seeley, Joshua Webb, Zackeriah Roberts, Joseph Jones, John Griffen, Joseph Baylee, William Gray, and Nicholas Bayley.—Westchester County Deeds, Copy *Liber* A, 265–267.

[23] *Ibid.*, 265, 266, 274.

[24] *Cal. of Hist. Mss. in the Office of the Sect. of State*, II: *English Manuscripts 1664–1776* (Albany: 1866), 171 (July 26, 1688).

Selyns, and his wife, . . . to take upon themselves the defense of the Manor of Fordham against all other claimants"—specifically the freeholders of Westchester—expenses of the suit to be borne by the Church. But when the matter came to trial, it is certain (despite the fact that the minutes of the November Sessions have been lost) that the jury's verdict was favorable to the Town, and that the Church "appealed to a higher Court" from the judgment there given.[25]

The Province of New York had been absorbed only a few months before into the Dominion of New England, and it was accordingly to the Superior Court of the Dominion at Boston that appeal was taken. Moreover, on November 18, 1688, Nicolas Bayard addressed a memorandum to Samuel Winder (Selyn's attorney), just departing for Boston to prosecute the appeal, indicating an intention, in case the appeal should fail(?), to file a declaration there in an action of ejectment against the Town of Westchester so that "a Tryall for the Title of ye s[d] mannor may be had at the next superior court." But before either the appeal or the ejectment action could be concluded, the Revolution of 1689 both there and at New York obliterated the Court along with the Dominion and put a quietus on further litigation until after the establishment in 1691 of the Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province of New York.[26]

When that high tribunal met for its first session in October 1691, the manor lands remained in the possession of the Westchester freeholders. Having been thwarted in its resort to the Superior Court at Boston, the Church now brought a title-testing action of ejectment against the Town of Westchester, under title of *Selinus* [*Henricus Selyns*] v. *Westchester* or (variantly) *Mar-*

[25] *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, II: 960 and 1035, where an abstract of a Consistory resolution reads: "The people of Westchester had taken the church land, first by force, and then by a lawsuit, with a jury. But the case was not well understood. It had been appealed to a higher Court."

[26] Ms. memorandum for Samuel Winder from Nicholas Bayard, dated November 18, 1688, in the archives of the Collegiate Church in the City of New York; *NYHS Coll. for 1946*, 261.

shall [*Andries Marschalk*] v. *Richardson & al* [*Town of Westchester*], in the Supreme Court of Judicature. The case came to trial on October 13, 1691, whereupon the "Jury finde for the Defte," and judgment was given for the Town.[27]

Having lost their case, the Church Consistory decided, rather than drop the matter or appeal to the Governor in Council, "to bring up the case again de novo" at the next term of court.[28] Accordingly, on April 6, 1692, a second ejectment action was brought in the Supreme Court of Judicature on behalf of the Church by one *John White* v. *Trustees of the Freeholders & Commonality of the Town of Westchester*. A jury was chosen but the matter was never considered by the jury, for, when the defendants offered their Nicolls Patent of 1667 in evidence, the plaintiff demurred "to the Def[endan]ts Evidence," and, the demurrer having been argued by counsel and considered by the judges, the Court on April 7, 1693, gave "Judgment for the Plaintiffe."[29]

At the following October term, the Court, upon the return of a writ of inquiry, confirmed its judgment,[30] as a result of which the trustees of the Town of Westchester, on October 23, 1693, executed and delivered a quit claim deed to Selyns and his wife (representing the Church) of all the right, title, and interest of the Town of Westchester to any and all land in the Manor of Fordham. Thereafter, in 1725, the Town supplemented the above by delivering to the Dutch Church a formal disclaimer of any and all interest in the Manor. Thus ended the dispute between Westchester and the Dutch Church of New York over the manor lands of Fordham.[31]

[27] *NYHS Coll. for 1946*, 260–262, 282–284.
[28] *Eccl. Recs., N.Y.*, II: 1035.
[29] *NYHS Coll. for 1946*, 300–301.
[30] *NYHS Coll. for 1912*, 50.
[31] For extended discussion of this dispute and its denouement see Melick, *op. cit.*, *passim*, and *NYHS Coll. for 1946*, 260–262, 282–284, 300–301.

SOME AMERICAN FUNERAL EPHEMERA

by Bella C. Landauer, *Honorary Curator*

SOCIAL customs have passed through innumerable changes over the years. When compared with their state fifty, a hundred, or more years ago they have become more lax or more liberal, depending on our point of view. This is especially true of funeral customs in this country. Formerly a strict and rigid code governed every minute detail, and though we might think such a code still existed it, too, has succumbed to gradual innovations. Individual choice and feeling are given much more latitude than ever before. The differences brought about by the changes and developments of time are easily evidenced by consulting etiquette books of past years and various receipts, tradecards, broadsides, and other ephemera such as those in the Society's Bella C. Landauer Business and Professional Collection from which all of the illustrations herein are taken. The subject, far from being morbid, holds much historical interest.

Perhaps the most obvious difference in present-day funeral practices from those of the past—one effected by changes in economic conditions rather than in social customs—is that respecting prices. An arresting advertisement of the New York Bay Cemetery, *c.* 1849, startles us with the alluring offer of "Burial Lots only $15—payable at $2 a month." These lots were "capable of holding from 15 to 20 Bodies" (either a reflection of the larger family of yesterday or the sharing of plots with friends or burial clubs), and their situs was described thus: "For beauty of prospect and quality of soil it stands unrivalled. Churches and Societies are invited to make a visit. A reasonable deduction made to

all associations. Stages run daily from Jersey City over a double track Plank Road. Also on Sundays."

At an earlier day in Philadelphia prices were equally reasonable. On October 11, 1793, a bill was presented by Mr. Samuel Couts to Jones and Allen, "To burying the corps [*sic*] of a woman from the House of Mordica Lewes £1.10.0." Even a thrifty person's fear could have been lulled by a bill dated September 19, 1824, "For making a coffin for Jeremiah W. Burgess $4.50."

An early bill, for the funeral charges of Miss Mary Rynelander, September 10, 1784, breaks down the charges, thus:

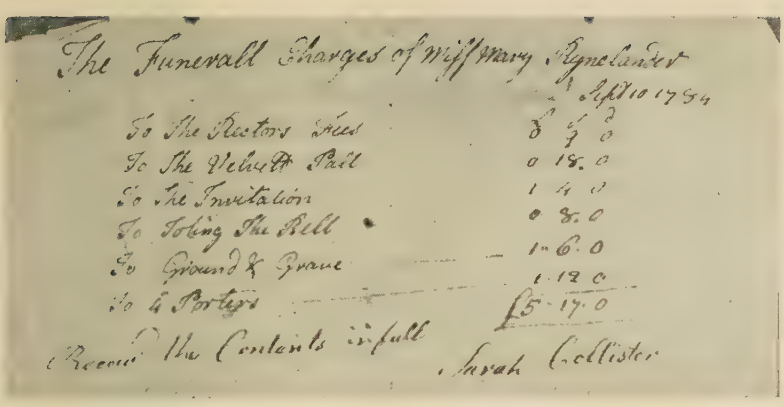
	£ S d
To the Rector's Fees	0 9 0
To the velvet Pall	0 18 0
To the Invitations	1 4 0
To Toling the Bell	0 8 0
To ground and Grave	1 6 0
To 4 Porters	1 12 0
Receiv[d] the Contents in full	£5.17.0.

Sarah Collister

Certainly the poor rector was not treated handsomely. His voice was considered worth only a shilling more than the peals of the bell. (The bill is reproduced on the page opposite.)

The matter of notification of death and invitation to services for the deceased has also undergone much change—from the public "Inviter to Funerals" to the short succinct newspaper item. We find the "Inviter to Funerals" mentioned as early as 1684 when, in New York City, John van Gelder was "approved by the court of mayor and alderman as 'Inviter to ffuneralls.' For all who shall employ him he is to 'comport himselfe Civilly.'"[1] And in 1691 Coenradus Vanderbeeck and Richard Chappman were

[1] Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, IV: 330.


The Funerall Charges of Miss Mary Rynelander
April 10 1754
To The Rectors Fees 0 3 0
To The Velvett Pall 0 18. 0
To The Invitation 1 4 0
To Tolling The Bell 0 8. 0
To Ground & Grave 1-6. 0
To 4 Porters 1 12 0
£5-17-0
Recd The Contents in full
Sarah Collister

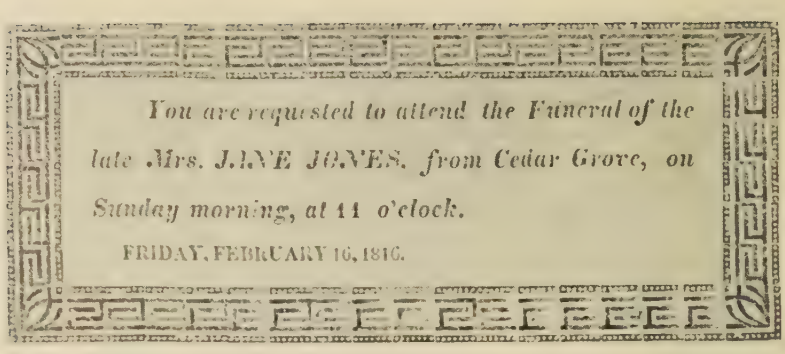
appointed to the position, the latter "on the recommendation of the governour." "Both are to be licensed by the mayor, paying the city nine shillings besides fees, and the license is to be renewed annually." They were to receive equal profits, and were "obliged to attend the burial of the poor without charge."[2] In 1715 the Common Council tightened its control over these officials by establishing the fees which they might be paid. The ordinance set them at "eight to eighteen shillings according to the age of the deceased."[3] These were again, and more specifically, set forth by age group in 1731.[4]

The first intimation that this system was not wholly acceptable has been found in an article, signed "Oppressed Commonwealth," printed by Hugh Gaine in New York City in 1755. Among other suggested reforms it said: "Another Thing which is a Custom in New York, and also a Law . . . I've often thought of no great Benefit to the Publick, which is this; That if a Person dies, being never so poor, leaving never so necessitous and distressed

[2] Stokes, IV: 365. On October 6, 1694, the Common Council "Ordered that Mr William Huddleston & Mr Coenradus Vanderbeck be Inviters to Funeralls and y^t they Give Equal Attendance on the Same and that they also Equally Divide or Share all Such Money or Other Profitts and Advantages as Shall Accrue by the Same." — *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York 1675–1776*, I: 368–9. Hereafter cited: *Min. Com. Coun.*)

[3] Stokes, IV: 483. Two years earlier "A Committee to Regulate the fees for the officers that Invite to funerals" had been appointed.—*Min. Com. Coun.*, III: 59.

[4] Stokes, IV: 525; *Min. Com. Coun.*, IV: 101.


You are requested to attend the Funeral of the late Mrs. JANE JONES, from Cedar Grove, on Sunday morning, at 11 o'clock.
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1816.

a Family, he cannot be buried, without their being at the Expence of 18s. to some Person authorised by the Mayor, to invite People to the Funeral; nor can any friend do it gratis, without subjecting himself to be fined 40s. if any one complains against him."[5]

Just when these public officials became defunct is not known, but at least half a century later the distribution of funeral notices seems to have become definitely a private matter. Invitations and mourning cards were printed and delivered by coachmen, footmen, or hired messengers, similar to the custom of personally delivering wedding invitations to the residences of prospective guests. Funerals were exclusive and attendance by invitation only was apparently "de rigueur." An early example of the printed invitation is one dated "Friday, February 16, 1816" in the Landauer Collection. It stated simply: "You are requested to attend the Funeral of the late Mrs. Jane Jones, from Cedar Grove, on Sunday morning, at 11 o'clock." These sparse words were surrounded by a rather heavy border of geometric design (see illustration above).

There was considerable variety in the designing of these ephemera. Contrast, for example, the elaborately designed card for the funeral of Robert Alexander Glascock (illustrated herein, page 227) with the following invitation printed on a plain white card with narrow black border:

[5] Stokes, IV: 664.

Sir,

You are respectfully invited to attend the Funeral of Miss Mary L. Ronalds on Thursday Afternoon, the 19th Inst. at four O'clock precisely, from her late residence, No. 15 Bond St.

S. N. Burrill
Furnishing Undertaker
No. 550 Pearl Street

New York, Nov. 19th, 1840

An even simpler notice was one of November 10, 1848, which read: "Yourself and family are requested to attend the funeral of Frank Weldon youngest son of Dr. Weldon, from his residence, this evening at 2 O'clock."

Another facet of the tradition surrounding funerals can be noted on an invitation of 1851, which concludes with the following sentence: "The deceased will be buried on Masonic order." The interest assumed by fraternal orders, and done so yet, is shown again in an invitation sent out by a lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows to its members.

Getty's Lodge No. 11, I.O. of O.F.
New York, June 8 1846

Brother:

You are hereby notified to attend a meeting of the Lodge, on Tuesday the 9 inst, at 4 o'clock, at the Rome, National Hall, Canal-street, for the purpose of attending the funeral of our late Brother, W. Palmer.

By order of the Lodge
[*signed*] J. Koll Secretary

The earliest mention we have found of the use of newspaper announcement rather than personally delivered invitation was in the remarks of an English visitor to New York, John Lambert, who wrote in 1807: "Funerals at New York . . . are attended by a numberous assemblage of the friends and acquaintances of the deceased, who are invited by advertisements in the newspapers

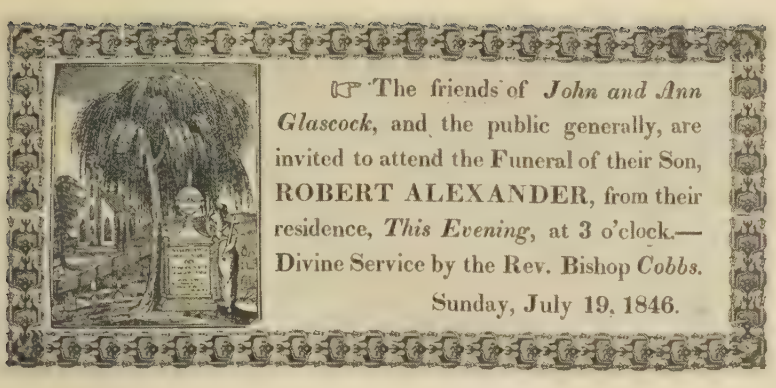
to attend their departed friend to the grave. On such occasions I have seen upwards of five hundred people, and the larger the number the more the deceased is supposed to be respected and valued. . . . The people attend for the most part in their ordinary dress. . . . The clergyman, physician, and chief mourners, wear white scarfs ,which it is also the custom to wear on the following Sunday. . . ."[6]

Etiquette books of various years yield information concerning mourning cards and notices and illustrate well the changes that each era's social arbiters have tried to establish as good taste in time of sorrow. *Hill's Manual of Social and Business Forms*, 1879, under "Etiquette of the Funeral," clung to older custom: "In the large city, where many friends and even relatives may not hear of the death, it is common to send invitations to such friends as might not otherwise hear of the fact. . . . It is customary to have these invitations printed . . . and to send them by private messenger. . . . It is a breach of etiquette for any who have been thus personally invited not to attend."[7]

As late as 1884, though probably written much earlier, *Gaskell's Compendium of Forms* . . . stated that though newspaper announcements "will meet the requirements of distant friends," "those near and dear to the deceased, whether related or not, must be written to, on mourning paper, the depth of the border depending on the severity of the blow[!]" (This matter of the width of the black border has always apparently been a thing of importance and dictatorial custom, even to the diminution in size as the various stages established for mourning have been passed. Time, however, has brought less and less ostentation.) After ordering the widest border possible to prove to society that the blow was severe in the extreme, the bereaved would be told further by naïve Prof. Gaskell that "Printed or engraved notes may be sent as matters of ceremony, but not where the feelings are touched [a loophole for the lazy?], and private mes-

[6] Stokes, V: 1477.

[7] Thomas E. Hill, *Hill's Manual of Social and Business Forms: A Guide to Correct Writing* (Chicago: Moses Warren & Co., 1879), 164.


☞ The friends of *John and Ann Glascock*, and the public generally, are invited to attend the Funeral of their Son, ROBERT ALEXANDER, from their residence, *This Evening*, at 3 o'clock.— Divine Service by the Rev. Bishop *Cobbs*.
Sunday, July 19, 1846.

sengers must deliver all such communications, unless the distance is too great."[8]

A more realistic and also very opinionated "Emily Post," Mrs. John Sherwood, wrote three years later: "We do not in this country send those hideous funeral or memorial cards which are sold in England . . . to apprise one's friends of a death in the family. There is no need of this, as the newspapers spread the sad intelligence."[9] She continued: "Cards and note-paper are now put into mourning by those who desire to express conventionally their regret for the dead; but very broad borders of black look like ostentation, and are in undoubted bad taste. No doubt all these things are proper enough in their way, but a narrow border of black tells the story of loss as well as an inch of coal-black gloom."[10]

A little over twenty years later a volume on *Correct Social Usage* had accepted the simplified manner of announcement but, while claiming enlightenment, still ruled strictly on mourning paper. "In this day of simpler and better taste in stationery we do not pursue numberless undignified vagaries in the choice and use of mourning paper. What the depth of the black border should

[8] Prof. G. A. Gaskell, *Gaskell's Compendium of Forms, Educational, Social, Legal and Commercial* . . . ,31st ed., (Chicago: Chicago Installment Book Co., 1884), 808.

[9] Mrs. John Sherwood, *Manners and Social Usages* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1887), 77.

[10] *Ibid.*, 193.

be is always decided and regulated by the border used on the visiting cards of the bereaved individual," for which definite regulations were set forth.[11] As regards the announcement, it said: "The black-bordered 'funeral tickets' which used to be sent from house to house are now no longer used except in the country and in small villages. A few simple lines in the newspaper columns make the only necessary public announcement of the death and attendant ceremonies."[12] However, a separate enclosure in volume I of this work pictures samples of "Steel Engraved Acknowledgment Cards" among which is the following death announcement card, "a quick and reliable method of notifying relatives and friends":

(Address)_____ 19____

In profound sorrow_____ announce

the death of_____

who died on_____

Services will be held_____

at _____

Funeral on_____ at_____ M

The mourning card, it has been said, was originally intended "as a reminder of the departed, in order that the recipient might offer prayers for the repose of his soul."[13] Early examples were "for the most part embossed in a white relief on a black background. The pierced or fretted variety was once very popular; these were most elaborate, and contained the usual symbols of grief—urns, weeping angels and willow trees."[14]

[11] *Correct Social Usage. A Course of Instruction in Good Form, Style and Deportment, By Eighteen Distinguished Authors.* 12th ed. (New York: The New York Society of Self-Culture, 1909), I: 86–87.

[12] *Ibid.*, II: 353–354.

[13] Bertram S. Puckle, *Funeral Customs, Their Origin and Development* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1926[?]), 271.

[14] *Ibid.* For an extremely ornate funeral invitation of 1779, on which the central figure is the skeleton Death with outstretched arm, see *ibid.*, opp. 264.

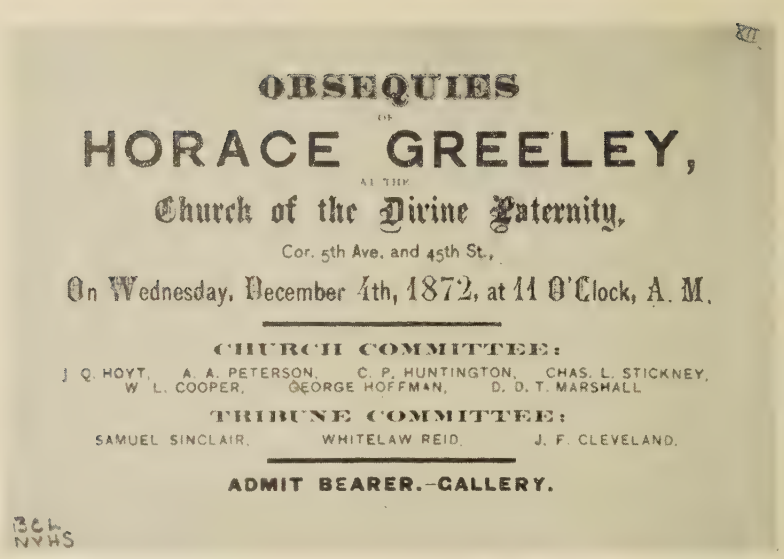
In Memoriam cards were similar to mourning cards. Among those in the Landauer Collection can be seen an especially ornate card of 1870, this being of the cut-out and partially embossed type, and a black card printed in gilt commemorating the passing of Mrs. Mary E. Robie, who died September 9, 1891, aged 26 years, 19 days. The card is ornamented by a door bearing the following message, "In loving Remembrance." A Bible rests on a graceful spray while above this a scroll bears the lines:

> Tis hard to break the tender cord,
> When love has bound the heart,
> Tis hard, so hard to speak the words
> Must we forever part?
> Dearest loved one we have laid thee,
> In the peaceful grave's embrace,
> But thy memory will be cherished
> Till we see thy Heavenly face.

Another of similar style and vintage is that of "Edsm J. Thurston, Died July 9th, 1890.—aged 30 Yrs., 3 mos., 19 Days." A sheaf of wheat, lilies, and a large Bible are conspicuous ornamentation; and the inscription reads:

> One less at home,
> The charmed circle broken, a dear face
> Missed day by day from its usual place
> But cleansed, saved, perfected by grace,
> One more in heaven,
> One less on earth.
> Its pain, its sorrow and its toil to share,
> One less the pilgrims daily cross to bear
> One more the crown of the blessed to wear
> At home in Heaven.

The large public funeral provides another bit of ephemera—the ticket to the funeral. One undated item (illustrated herein, page 221) bears the legend "Admit the Bearer," printed on a fine ticket depicting a marble monument with the wonted appropriate embellishment of floral sprays and a background of foliage. In more recent times tickets have been issued where large crowds were expected to attend semi-public funerals such as those of



OBSEQUIES

OF

HORACE GREELEY,

AT THE

Church of the Divine Paternity,

Cor. 5th Ave. and 45th St.,

On Wednesday, December 4th, 1872, at 11 O'Clock, A. M.

CHURCH COMMITTEE:

J. Q. HOYT, A. A. PETERSON, C. P. HUNTINGTON, CHAS. L. STICKNEY,
W. L. COOPER, GEORGE HOFFMAN, D. D. T. MARSHALL.

TRIBUNE COMMITTEE:

SAMUEL SINCLAIR, WHITELAW REID, J. F. CLEVELAND.

ADMIT BEARER.—GALLERY.

BGL
NYHS

Wendell Willkie and Margaret Mitchell. Tickets of different colors are used to facilitate the seating arrangements.

These funereal relics are the embellishments and sentimental accessories of mourning that quite suited times past. Mourning required leisure. With leisure there was ceremony, formality, and public display. The hearse was drawn slowly by pairs of horses, draped in fringed trappings. The mourners were swathed in crepe. There were often hired mutes and wailers. Today the tempo has changed. The older funeral practices would seem odd to the young people of our turbulent era. Now, a high-powered motor hearse whisks the coffin to the cemetery, and the majority of families have long since eschewed a period of mourning as obsolete. A facetious lady has been credited with the remark that "Nowadays, in case of death, no one stays at home but the corpse." Engraved or printed invitations have given way to newspaper announcement which often has added the simple words, "Funeral Private." Nevertheless, despite modern simplification of funeral ceremony, it is doubtful that the feelings of our ancestors were any deeper than are ours. Only the ostentations of grief passed with the change of centuries; the grief remained.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Life in America. By Marshall B. Davidson, Editor of Publications, Metropolitan Museum of Art. (Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co. in association with the Metropolitan Museum, 1951. 2 vols. xiii + 1,076 pages, 1,200 illus. $20.00.)

In this vast panorama of pictures and words, the author has been "more concerned with social forces than with politics, personalities, and military matters." His theme is the way our people built their country and how they have lived in it. Volume One shows a group of colonies becoming a nation, a westward movement filling out a continent, the conquest of the seas, and the development of agriculture and of industry. Volume Two emphasizes the mental, social, religious, and political experience of America: education, recreation, life in cities, and the struggle to realize the democratic promise. No two historians would agree on the relative emphasis to be given each phase of the national life. This reviewer wishes that the musical experience of the country had been more fully treated, and that a more extended account had been given of such powerful cultural instruments as the motion picture and the radio. On the whole, Mr. Davidson's sense of proportion has served him well.

No verbal commentary could match the richness and vigorous impact of these illustrations. The author provides a clear, brisk and solidly informed text in which, as often as not, the contemporary American is allowed to give his eye-witness comments. The topical method of this book makes it possible to present such phenomena as whaling, railroads, and sports with far greater effectiveness, pictorially and verbally, than a strictly chronological procedure would have done.

Mr. Davidson's five-year search for pictures was not limited to the most easily accessible sources. He drew upon The New-York Historical Society, to be sure, and upon the Stokes Collection and the Library of Congress; but he also ransacked private collections, university libraries, and historical societies throughout the country, finding material in the Nantucket Atheneum, the U.S. Bureau of Lighthouses, and in one instance the Ship Ahoy Restaurant at Sea Bright, New Jersey! Instead of the more familiar views of Brooklyn Bridge, we find a photolithograph by Shugg Brothers. Here is George Ropes' panoramic painting of Crowninshield's Wharf at Salem in 1806, which has long deserved to be better known. Here is a detail from an extraordinary photograph of San Francisco in 1879; here is an architect's project for Robert Owen's colony at New Harmony. A large proportion of the illustrations will be familiar only to specialists; many are here reproduced for the first time.

As a consequence of this wise and patient selection from a group of over a million photographs, Mr. Davidson's plates fit their text as a glove

fits a hand. Some of them would make their point without any text at all. For example, romance and reality confront each other when Charles Wimar's dramatic reconstruction of an Indian attack is faced on the opposite page by a grim camera shot of two frontiersmen with the body of a scalped hunter. Equally pointed is the combination of an idyllic rural scene by Currier and Ives with an FSA photograph of a rotting New England farmhouse. Again, the face of a factory child in a Lewis Hine snapshot makes its own comment; and so does an airplane view of a section of Flushing, with its endless suburban monotony.

The integration of word and picture was not only an ideological but also a technical problem. It was an extremely difficult task to fit together sections of a two-column text and these illustrations of single- or double-column width in such fashion as to make the image coincide with the word. With a few exceptions, the makers of this book have not only solved this problem but have given balance and order to their pages. The printing process, sheet-fed gravure, achieves a reasonable degree of clarity. The "bleeding" of the larger plates unfortunately brings the danger of cropping, unobjectionable in the case of maps and drawings but regrettable when it removes a slice of foreground from West's *Death of Wolfe* and portions of the sides of Woodville's *The Sailor's Wedding*.

Mr. Davidson's quarter of a million words, scholarly and penetrating as they are, do not give his book its chief claim to distinction. His most valuable contribution is the rich and adroit reconstruction, in twelve hundred images, of the life of a people. The abundance of available material for history-by-pictures was suggested in 1939 by the "Life in America" exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum, and subsequently exploited in such shows as "Mississippi Panorama" and "American Processional." Mr. Davidson has dug deeper, and come up with richer treasures, than any man before him.

Smith College OLIVER W. LARKIN

The Manor of Fordham and Its Founder. By HARRY C. W. MELICK. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1950. xx + 191 pages, illus., index. $4.00.)

The tract of approximately 3,900 acres, which Governor Francis Lovelace granted and confirmed to John Archer under a manorial patent in 1671, now lies within the Borough of the Bronx in the City of New York. Many an interesting tale could be told about the area once known as the Manor of Fordham, but few would be any more fascinating than the story of Mr. Melick's determined and successful effort to reconstruct this particular phase of New York's Provincial history—and to reconstruct it out of verifiable data. Almost forty years ago his curi-

osity about the manor and its founder was first stirred; in 1941, when he retired from the active practice of the law, historical research became his new vocation.

Lawyers do not always make competent historians; and historical literature contains some impressive evidence of that fact. In this particular instance, however, it was certainly Mr. Melick's legal training and experience that enabled him to make his most important contributions to our knowledge of the Manor of Fordham and our understanding of its place in the manorial system of New York Province. No other investigator of the English manor in America has made such a diligent search in the judicial records of the Duke of York's province, and few have been so careful in stating the meaning of their findings. Mr. Melick must have been tempted at many points to see with the eye of fancy, when he learned that documents which he needed had been destroyed or lost. Yet he has kept his narrative at all times within the limits that he could defend by specific citations of reliable sources.

As a result we now have documentary evidence of the operation of a manorial court, covering a period of slightly more than ten years. Prior to the publication of Mr. Melick's study the accounts of New York manors gave no convincing answer to the question of whether manorial lords ever exercised the franchise to hold a manorial court. The data here presented prove that a court baron, over which the manor steward presided, actually was held at Fordham, and give some indication of the attitude of the inhabitants toward the court's decisions.

Some critics will insist that the author should have set his new findings more securely within the framework of earlier discussions of the English colonial system. There is justice in the criticism, for Mr. Melick rarely ventures far from the source material that he has in hand. Nevertheless, he does throw light on the general theories concerning the motivations of British imperialists in establishing the various New York manors. Fordham provides a measure of substantiation—as Charles E. Baker of The New-York Historical Society points out in his discriminating Introduction—for the oft-repeated assertion that colonial administrators under the Stuarts hoped that the Provincial manors would contribute toward imperial defense, create a powerful colonial aristocracy, and curb the growth of "democratic" tendencies in America. In a small way Fordham fits into this pattern. That it does so is singularly impressive, since the author makes no effort to arrange his facts in conformity with any such theory.

Mr. Melick is deeply interested in John Archer, the founder of the manor, his ancestors, and his descendants. But the search for biographical material has not been sufficiently rewarding. Both the founder and his son, the so-called second Lord, remain shadowy figures. What the author has discovered about the Archer family will be primarily im-

portant for genealogists; the historians are in his debt because he has given genuine substance to the term, Manor of Fordham, and has shown its importance in the development of the Province of New York.

Columbia University — JOHN A. KROUT

Joel Munsell: Printer and Antiquarian. By DAVID S. EDELSTEIN. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. 420 pages, biblio., index. $5.00.)

In 1886 the citizens of Albany, on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of their city, erected a bronze tablet "in honor of Joel Munsell, Printer of Albany who, a native of Massachusetts, did more than any other man to preserve the ancient records of his adopted city. Born 1808. Here he did his earliest work."

A brief thirteen years later, says David S. Edelstein in his biography of Munsell, the building was torn down and this memorial lost. With his imprint on so many thousands of books, serials, and pamphlets, his name is not likely to be forgotten by those by whom this conscientious craftsman and indefatigable antiquarian would wish to be remembered, but a thoroughgoing record of Munsell's place and accomplishment has been overdue. Mr. Edelstein has left no source unexplored in bringing together this detailed story of a New England small-town boy whose serious and unflagging search for knowledge and experience leaves us respectful and applauding at what the human will can accomplish.

Munsell of Albany has high place among American printers who have contributed with competence and scholarship to the literature of printing; among them: Isaiah Thomas of Worcester in the century before; Theodore De Vinne of New York, who followed Munsell in time; and D. Berkley Updike of Boston, whose work and writing belong to this century.

But not even Thomas thrust his energies into more divergent though related fields than Munsell, for he was not only a journeyman and master printer (and an excellent printer), but he was publisher of numerous works, underwriter of publishing projects, bookseller from necessity, and author, editor, diarist and forerunner and prophet of America's passionate interest in her own historical records.

The evidences of this vast productiveness Mr. Edelstein pursued through a mountain of pertinent material such as only a scholar-publisher-printer could have left behind—manuscripts, letters, scrapbook records, business and institutional, books and periodicals, and newspapers —which Munsell printed or which printed things about Munsell. His thousand-volume typographical library went to the New York State Library. He was so excellent a printer that he revived "old style" types; so interested in the backgrounds of book collecting that he printed the

first American edition of Richard de Bury's *Philobiblon*. Conscious of the importance of Isaiah Thomas' work, he edited and reprinted the *History of Printing in America;* sure of the value which his country would come to place on its historical documents, he gathered and printed hundreds, largely at his own expense.

Mr. Edelstein's book reflects in documented detail all these facets of an intensely busy life; but the Munsell story has added value, for it records for us the evolution of industry, business, and civic affairs in the critical middle decades of the 19th century. This aspect of the book gives it wide value.

And beyond all this there will remain for every reader the insoluble question—what is it in the spirit of boy and man that can drive him to such prodigies of truly consecrated effort to perfect his craft, to enlarge his knowledge, to search out and put in order such scattered materials, and to sacrifice time and money to put these in order for his own and future generations?

New York City FREDERIC G. MELCHER

William Jay Gaynor, Mayor of New York. By MORTIMER SMITH. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1951. xiii + 192 pages, appendix, biblio., illus., index. $2.50.)

Mayor William Jay Gaynor of New York, who occupied that office during the years 1910–1913, was one of the most colorful mayors of the City during its long history of three hundred years. His most recent biographer, Mr. Mortimer Smith, in the prologue to his biography *William Jay Gaynor, Mayor of New York* states: "Gaynor is now an almost completely forgotten American. He does not deserve this oblivion for his character and accomplishments were in many respects uncommon, even unique."

The author tells the reader that "To a large extent his book is a recital from the public records of Gaynor's life and deeds as mayor of the city of New York." However, he has not attempted to write a definitive biography of Gaynor nor to do more than to evaluate his personality and describe his activities as mayor in a biographical essay. This he has done in an entertaining way while picturing a dynamic, witty, and individualistic man in the midst of a turbulent period in the City's political history.

Gaynor was a picturesque official who was always fighting for causes. He was a philosopher and a mystic and loved to quote from the classics; it was his letters that made New York chuckle. Naturally, then, this biographer has chosen to dwell on the unusual personality of his subject, which he illustrates with numerous quotations from his letters.

Mayor Gaynor was shot by a disgruntled city employee on shipboard

as he was about to sail for Europe after six months in office. He recovered but never regained his health, and it didn't improve his temper. He died in office in September 1913 toward the end of his term.

Mortimer Smith expresses his thanks to The New York Public Library for facilities in his research. There's an interesting story behind the Gaynor Memorial Collection which the Library has. The Mayor was among the early crusaders against "rackets" in the City. One morning, in 1914, the Library received an envelope containing five $1,000 bonds, with no donor's name enclosed. The stipulation was that if the Library would execute a marble bust of the Mayor and display around it framed extracts from Gaynor's writings, it might keep the money. It was to reply through the columns of the *Outlook*. The Trustees couldn't comply and said so, but offered to purchase books for a memorial collection. The donor agreed—but remains anonymous to this day.

Municipal Reference Library, New York City REBECCA B. RANKIN

The Uprooted: the Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People. By OSCAR HANDLIN. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1951. 310 pages. $4.00.)

Oscar Handlin, author of *Boston's Immigrants* and Associate Professor of History at Harvard, has written an interesting and unusual volume, a sympathetic and at times deeply moving essay on the mass emigration of Europeans to the United States which ended with the quota restrictions of the 1920's. Surprisingly enough, the jacket blurb does not claim too much: "*The Uprooted* is a rare combination of powerful feeling and long-time study that gives us the shape and the feel of things rather than just the facts." The book is a learned one, yet its pages are not cluttered with scholarly paraphernalia, and only occasionally is the poet a pedant.

Books on immigration traditionally tell the story of the newcomers' effect upon their adopted country. Handlin, however, writes from a unique perspective, that of the European peasant, the immigrant himself: his response to inexorable changes which disrupted the traditional life of his native village, his feelings on forsaking native soil, his merging with the mass movement across the Atlantic, and his reaction to a strange environment in the United States. Emigration is here considered as the central lifetime experience. "I shall touch upon broken homes, interruptions of familiar life, separation from known surroundings, the becoming a foreigner and ceasing to belong."

After characterizing the peasant origins and the ocean-crossing of the immigrants, Handlin interprets their New World experiences and ideas: job-finding and the daily bread; the chilling sense of loneliness in the city's teeming tenements and factories or on the farms, where great

stretches of distance replace the quiet, settled sociability of the ancestral peasant village; the central role of traditional religion—"Religion as a Way of Life"—in the immigrant's struggle to preserve his connection with the past; the meaning of the "foreign" sections in the American city, where he glimpsed the separateness implicit in Americanization. All this is told as by an intelligent greenhorn who blurted: "*I am in America and I do not know whether it is America.*"

To overcome this sense of loneliness and helplessness immigrants developed their own newspapers and a variety of group activities—social, musical, theatrical, gymnastic societies—or they went into politics. Their political life is analyzed in an excellent chapter called "Democracy and Power." Here Handlin shows how government, to the European peasants, meant power, a power generally used against them; in America democracy offered the immigrants a chance to take hold of that power, but in this utterly new experience they often were dependent upon self-seeking leaders. One sees here the relation of the adopted citizen to the political boss and his machine.

An entire chapter treats, from the viewpoints of both parents and children, the forces which in America pulled the generations apart, as the family itself was unable to survive the impact of transplantation. With each passing year sons and daughters drew farther away from their elders' hopes and goals. The disillusionment was complete when letters exchanged across the Atlantic revealed that even the ties to the village of their youth had snapped forever.

The defects of *The Uprooted* stem less from the author's main theme than from certain emphases and occasionally from too-sweeping judgments. In the main, Handlin's concept of the immigrant as a peasant is not open to question. The vast majority of immigrants had their roots in the soil. However, readers unfamiliar with this fact or whose own immigrant background or occupational experience in Europe was urban, will only faintly recognize this saga as having much bearing on their own families' attempt at adjustment in the United States. The Jews are a case in point. Further, Handlin has little to write of the skilled craftsman because he visualizes the migration as one largely of unskilled peasants, and generally the poorest, such as the Irish.

If, as Handlin asserts, American labor unions made no general effort to organize immigrant workers, there is nevertheless evidence of immigrants joining predominantly native unions and of some native recognition of the need to organize the foreign-born skilled workers. For a time in the 1850's skilled German workers in New York City created their own unions and sought to coöperate with their English-speaking brethren.

The weakest part of the book is the chapter on the restriction of immigration. It has a distinct bearing upon the acculturation of the new-

comers, but the treatment of the restrictionist movement and its consequences is a facile simplification. The assumption that the barring of mass immigration intensified nationalistic group-consciousness among the foreign-born invites further analysis. "Not a few" immigrants, notes Handlin, upheld Hitler as a rectifier of former injustices, and the many who did not were "so confused by these issues" that they allowed a good part of their institutional life to "fall into the hands of the followers of the Führer." This needs to be proven. The German American Bund seems to have involved a lunatic fringe of German-Americans. Meanwhile, writes Handlin, "some Jews" were drawn into the Zionist movement; but this development did not reach noticeable proportions until the Nazi persecutions and can only be indirectly and to a minor extent associated with United States immigration quotas.

These are minor criticisms when one considers the epic proportions of Handlin's theme, one that reverses the usual perspective and substitutes a sympathetic insight into the thoughts and feelings of millions of human beings. These emigrants from the British Isles, these German, Scandinavian, Italian, Jewish, and "slavic" peoples who sought to regain dignity and opportunity in the New World, succeeded only in further alienating themselves from society.

Adelphi College ROBERT ERNST

The Attitudes of the New York Irish toward State and National Affairs 1848–1892. By FLORENCE E. GIBSON, Ph.D. (New York: Studies in History, Economics and Public Law No. 563, Columbia University Press, 1951. 480 pages, including biblio., index. $5.75.)

Within its narrow limitations Florence Gibson's monograph will no doubt be regarded as a definitive work. It documents at length, but in undistinguished style, the interpretation generally held of "Irish" politics in New York. In brief, the broad conclusions are: that the Irish were important in American politics in the late 19th century, that they enthusiastically voted and held office in the Democratic Party; that their concentration in Irish neighborhoods, their Roman Catholicism, and their common hatred of England gave them a cohesiveness which made them the first immigrant group to be able to sway American policy in the interest of the homeland. Resentment of British rule in Ireland "colored the thinking of most Irish-Americans toward all questions of international relations connected in the slightest degree with the British." This, together with their Democratic Party allegiance or loyalty to the Catholic Church, generally lay behind the political attitudes of "the majority of the Irish."

Adelphi College ROBERT ERNST

American Lithographs of the Nineteenth Century. By Helen Comstock. (New York: M. Barrows and Company, Inc., 1950 [Collector's Little-Book Library], 170 pages, illus. $2.00.)

This miniature volume, one of a series directed to collectors of American silver, glass, dolls, etc., is the first in that series to deal with pictorial art. American lithography during the past century is of utmost importance to any historian of the social scene, so this small book should find a far wider audience than among collectors only. Unfortunately for the latter, it is highly improbable that any private collector operating in the mid-20th century can duplicate the feat of the late Harry T. Peters in making so representative a collection of early American lithographs. When Peters undertook his collection the early lithographs had been practically forgotten and he found no competition in the field. Today the choicer prints are so scarce that, if obtainable at all, their prices are often prohibitive.

The name of Currier & Ives has overshadowed their many contemporary lithographic publishers but perusal of Miss Comstock's text shows the widespread activity of other firms. Among the seventy-five lithographs illustrated are the work of E. C. Kellogg of Hartford, Endicott of New York, N. L. Rosenthal of Philadelphia, John Pendelton of Boston, and many others. The variety of subject matter illustrated is representative of the broad scope of the litho-draughtsmen whose range of subject matter was probably unequalled in any other medium until the advent of modern photography.

Should this book infect some unsuspecting reader with the collector's virus, the poor victim should first acquaint himself with the already existing collections. Among the important collections not in private hands are those at the New York Public Library, which includes the I. N. Phelps Stokes collection, and at The New-York Historical Society, the Library of Congress, and the Mariners' Museum at Newport News. Then he should study the several valuable publications on or embracing the American lithograph: Harry T. Peters' indispensible reference books, *Currier & Ives* (2 vols.) and *America on Stone;* I. N. Phelps Stokes' *Iconography of Manhattan Island* (6 vols.) and *American Historical Prints*, which contain much information on lithography; and a periodical much used by collectors, *The Old Print Shop Portfolio*, now in its eleventh annual volume, where a great number of otherwise "unpublished" American lithographs may be found.

The little volume under review may be said to resemble a sampling from *The Old Print Shop Portfolio* and its author, Miss Helen Comstock, is the best person to have made such a sampling, for she was editor of *The Portfolio* from 1942 until recently.

Smith College Museum of Art Mary Bartlett Cowdrey

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

A CALENDAR of the events and functions of the Society from the beginning of the New Year until the end of March 1952 follows:

January 8: Lecture for members and friends by Dr. Richard McCormick, President of the New Jersey Historical Society, on "New York and New Jersey: Twins of History."

January 12: Business meeting of the Steamship Historical Society in the auditorium.

January 15: Meeting of the Daughters of the American Revolution Regents in the Board Room.

January 22: Opening of the special exhibition, COUNTRY HOUSES ON MANHATTAN ISLAND. (Exhibition to continue through July.)

January 26: Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians in auditorium with "Preservation and Restoration in the New York Area" as the theme.

January 28: Meeting of the Daughters of the American Revolution Regents in the Board Room.

February 2: Meeting of the Oberlin Women's Club in the auditorium.

February 5: Lecture for members and friends by Mrs. Elizabeth O'Neill Verner on "Why Charleston's Different." A number of Mrs. Verner's drawings of historic houses of Charleston were displayed in the main floor corridor from February 2d to February 6th.

February 8: Meeting of the League of Women Voters in the auditorium.

February 9: Grolier Club luncheon in Dexter Hall. Meeting of the New York Folklore Society in the auditorium.

February 19: City-wide meeting of the League of Women Voters in the auditorium on the theme "Platforms and Inflation."

March 4: Lecture for members and friends by Major General Orlando Ward, Chief of Military History, United States Army, on "Possible and Practical Use of Military History," and a preview of the new semi-permanent military exhibition and the special exhibit commemorating the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of West Point. (Open to the public the following day.) Guests of honor were Lieut. General Willis D. Crittenberger, Commanding General, First Army; Major General Frederick A. Irving, Superintendent, United States Military Academy; Major General Karl F. Hausauer, Chief of Staff to the Governor, New York State Division of Military and Naval Affairs, and Commanding General New York National Guard; Colonel H. A. Cooney, Chief, New York Military District.

March 8: School Art League program, "Scoops by American News Artists," by Mr. Carlson.

March 12: Meeting of the Museums Council of New York City.
March 15: School Art League program, "Survey of Museum Collections," by Miss Pless.
March 20: Meeting of the Conference Committee of National Jewish Women's Organizations in the auditorium with a program on "A Positive Approach to Jewish Living in America."
March 22: School Art League program, "Scoops by American News Artists," by Mr. Carlson.
March 29: School Art League program, "Sports in American Art," by Mr. Carlson.

Mr. Vail spoke on "Seventeenth-Century New York Buildings" before the Society of Architectural Historians at their Annual Meeting in New York, January 25–27, and Mr. Andrews also addressed that group speaking on "McKim, Mead and White and the Creation of the American Palace." Mr. Andrews lectured before students of the Columbia University School of Architecture, February 15th, on the subject of Architectural Photography, and at the Metropolitan Museum of Art on March 13th on "Visiting the Houses of the Old South."

The Society played host to the Museums Council of New York City of which it is a member, and on the evening of March 12th the group gathered here for cocktails and a buffet supper in Dexter Hall. Later, Mr. Hardinge Scholle, of the National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings, spoke on his work with that organization.

Miss Barck conducted the St. Johns University Library School class in "The Library and Contemporary Society" when they met here March 9th, and on several occasions students from the New York University School of Education course in "Field Work and Community Agencies" have explored, under the direction of the staff, the work of the various departments of the Society.

Among the events scheduled are the illustrated lecture on April 8th by Mr. John Marshall Phillips on "American Historic Silver," an exhibition opening April 16th of twenty-four busts of prominent persons by Malvina Hoffman, and a July display devoted to the work of Charles Lennox Wright I, the pioneer of zinc etching. There will be a June opening of HATS IN THE RING, an election exhibition telling the story of Presidential campaigns in the United States from Washington's time through the last election.

NOTICE

The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union has asked Mr. John Marshall Phillips, Director of the Yale Gallery of Fine Arts, to write its book on the original Mount Vernon silver. Considerable information already exists in the records of the Association, at Mount Vernon, relating to the Washington silver, but the story is not complete. This inquiry is directed to all who may have useful knowledge upon the subject. Anyone having such information is urged to communicate with John Beverley Riggs, Research Associate, Mount Vernon, Virginia.

RECENT ACCESSIONS

Crayon drawing by John La Farge (1835–1910). *Gift of Miss Elizabeth T. Agnew.*

Four guns formerly owned by Captain Waldemar D'Arcy Rose, Annapolis, 1879. *Gift of Mrs. Henry A. Alker.*

Apothecary scales which belonged to Nicholas Bayard (1698–1765), donors' great-great-great-grandfather. *Gift of the Misses Margaret Bayard Baldwin and Elizabeth Rutgers Baldwin.*

One hundred and six mimeographed scripts of plays and 156 program notes of radio broadcasts presented on the "Cavalcade of America" series by the Du Pont Company. *Gift of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn.*

Letter of Mrs. Elsie Leisler, 1694; letterbook of Gerard G. Beekman, 1746–1750; business and land papers of the Beekman family, 1770–1820; papers and letters of James W. Beekman and of Reverend Dr. Philip Milledoler; manuscript genealogies and genealogical notes of the Beekman family; 35 personal and official papers of General John Steele, 1808–1827; two Dutch Bibles; engravings of James W. Beekman; silhouettes of Abraham K. Beekman and of Johanna (Beekman) Beekman. *Gift of the Beekman Family Association.*

Watercolor view of *Cazenovia N.Y.* by an unidentified artist. *Gift of Mrs. Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Sr.*

Gold insignia made by Jean Diodet, Paris, and original ribbon of the Society of the Cincinnati, which belonged to David Lenox (1753–1828), Captain of the 3d Pennsylvania Battalion in the American Revolution, who was elected an Honorary Member of the Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania in 1789 and its President in 1807. *From Collection of Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Jr.*

Oil portraits of *Samuel Thomson* (1784–1856) and *Mrs. Samuel Thomson* (1789–1870) by an unidentified artist. *Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Thomson Cookingham.*

Oil portrait of *Mrs. Frederick W. Haynes* (Caroline de Forest, 1834–1897) by Caroline Coventry Haynes, daughter of the subject. *Gift of Col. Louis Effingham de Forest.*

One hundred and seventy-eight programs and eighteen advertising circulars for plays, concerts, dance recitals and motion pictures. *Gift of Mr. Dolf De Graff.*

Oil portrait of *Nicholas de Peyster* by an unidentified artist. *Gift of the Estate of William Moore Dongan de Peyster.*

Pair of pitchers made at Worcester, England, during the Dr. Wall period. *Gift of Mr. Charles E. Dunlap.*

Oil painting of *The Death Warrant of Major André* by an unidentified artist after the original by Alonzo Chappel. *Gift of Mr. William H. Foster.*

Pennsylvania daybed with original rush seat, William and Mary style; Hudson Valley painted dower chest, 18th century. *Gift of Col. and Mrs. Edgar W. Garbisch.*

Silhouettes of David Richardson and of Mary Coleman Richardson, donor's maternal grandparents; fourteen photographs of the donor and of members of his family, and eight photographs of Griffith residences; 1870 model Springfield rifle; fowling piece; ship's compass; bell from Admiral Byrd's South Pole ship the *City of New York;* tools made by David R. Griffith, a naval marine constructor during the Civil War; sailing master's rattle; cradle; knife box, and other marine and household items. *Gift of Dr. Frederic Griffith.*

Two medals commemorating the Centennial Celebration of Washington's Inauguration in 1889, which was witnessed by the donor; piece of timber and spike from the *U.S.S. Granite State*, formerly the *U.S.S. New Hampshire*, stationed for many years at Newport, R.I., and subsequently turned over to the New York Naval Reserve for their headquarters on the East River. *Gift of Henry O. Havemeyer, Esquire.*

Fifteen cards of New York City speakeasies of the 1920's. *Gift of Mr. James B. Herzog.*

Twenty-four portrait busts by the donor. *Gift of Miss Malvina Hoffman.*

Collection of Murray and Bronson family letters and of genealogical notes, charts, and correspondence, including 21 letters of John Murray, M.D. (1721–1792), of England, correspondence of Col. James Boyles Murray, of his wife, Maria (Bronson) Murray, and of their son, Bronson Murray, donor's grandfather; diaries of Col. and Mrs. James Boyles Murray, of John Boyles Murray, of Miss Caroline Murray and of Miss Agnes Murray; 43 histories and biographies. *Gift of Mrs. Bayard James.*

Thirty-six photographs of New York physicians, used to illustrate *Portraits of the Noted Physicians of New York 1750–1900*, by Walter Graeme Eliot, donor's father; 68 photographs of college presidents, *c.* 1900. *Gift of Mrs. Eliot James.*

Case of Jenny Lind buttons from the collection of the donor's late wife, Hanna S. Kohn. *Gift of Mr. Achilles H. Kohn.*

Collection of household furnishings, including silver, china and furniture; 61 histories and genealogies; account book, 1844–1848; rent book recording leases, 1847–1866; two albums of photographs of the Spanish-American War; large map of the Village of Flushing, L. I., April 1, 1841, Elijah A . Smith, surveyor. *Gift of the Estate of Townsend Lawrence.*

Oil portrait of *Stuyvesant LeRoy* (1836–1897) by an unidentified artist. *Bequest of Stuyvesant LeRoy, son of the subject.*

Complaint to the Ulster County, N. Y., court, signed by twenty inhabitants of Minisink, April 28, 1743, asking to be allowed to transport their grain over the old road; engraving of *Kossuth* by J. J. White. *Gift of Mr. DeWitt M. Lockman.*

Marble bust and pedestal, possibly of *John B. Pendleton* (1798–1866) by Thomas Crawford, Rome, 1839. *Given in memory of John S. Rogers by Mrs. E. Victor Loew.*

Forty-seven auction catalogues, 1911–1926; five catalogues of art exhibits; scrapbook of theater, concert and opera programs, 1890, 1917. *Gift of Mrs. Louis Lowinson.*

Fourteen maps of properties in New York City, 1836–1837. *Gift of Mrs. Irving McKesson.*

Approximately 500 glass negatives recording exteriors and interiors of buildings designed by McKim, Mead & White. *Gift of McKim, Mead & White, through Mr. Lawrence Grant White.*

Double woven bedspread made for E. Melick by George Washington Van Doren, Millstone, N. J., 1840; crib quilt made by Mrs. Cornelius Westervelt (donor's grandmother), late 19th century. *Gift of Mr. Harry C. W. Melick.*

Thirty-three letters from Horatio Seymour (1810–1886), 22 letters to him from Fernando Wood, George P. Morris, Thomas A. Hendricks, and others, and six letters concerning him; 41 photographs and four engravings relating to Horatio Seymour, his homes and his portraiture. *Gift of Mr. Stewart Mitchell.*

Manuscript autobiography of James Herring (1794–1867), portrait painter, dated Brooklyn, N. Y., March 13, 1863. *Gift of his great-great-grandson, Mr. George T. Mortimer, Jr., through Mrs. Helen Adams.*

Oil painting of *Leda and the Swan* by Walter Shirlaw (1838–1910); rush-bottom rocker; sampler; silver mustard spoon, London 1783/4; spoon made by Thomas Arnold, Newport, R. I., 1760–1796; small pen knife. *Gift of Miss Edna Morse.*

Oil portrait of *Dominick Lynch* (1754–1824) by John Vanderlyn; miniature of *Mrs. William Coggeshall* of Newport, R. I., by Edward Greene Malbone. *Gift of Mr. Lewis Gouverneur Morris.*

Two hundred and forty-three amateur periodicals. *Gift of Mr. Beecher Ogden.*

Minutes, correspondence, and reports of the Special Committee of the New York State Bar Association on revision of military law. *Gift of Mr. Abel I. Smith, Jr., secretary of the Committee.*

Manuscript account book, 1828; account book, 1866–1879 of the executors of Charles A. Jarvis and of Julia A. Jarvis Besant. *Gift of Mrs. William Harvey Smith.*

Model of the U. S. Frigate *Congress* made between 1862–1865 by a sailor who served on the ship. It was then sold for the benefit of wounded Union soldiers and sailors. *Gift of Mr. Charles H. Voorhees.*

Pastel portrait of *Amy Seabury Weeks* by Harper Pennington, 1892. *Gift of Mr. Louis Weeks, brother of the subject.*

Nine pieces of sheet music, including Catskill and Albany publications; three textbooks and five other books. *Gift of Mr. Wesley J. Ziller.*